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Maybe that's one reason the most popular premium wine from Italy is Bolla. And why you may begin seeing Bolla in a slightly different light.

### **COVER:** The candidates head South in search of the country's post-Reagan soul

Back from the abyss, Bush is again the front runner. ▶ After New Hampshire, the fractious Democrats may be heading for a bartered nomination. ▶ He is intelligent and an able manager, but can Dukakis lead with his heart as well as his head?

- ▶ Abandoning restraint, the candidates embrace negative ads.
- ▶ A TIME poll charts who is most electable. See NATION.



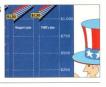
### **OLYMPICS: Heartbreaking luck and gutty 74** performances bring tragedy and triumph

Action! Boitano proves to be the top Brian: Soviet Pairs Skater Katya Gordeeva wins not only the gold but the hearts of Calgary; Downhill Daredevil Pirmin Zurbriggen conquers the horrific Mount Allan course in a brilliant, unforgettable run; West Germany's Marina Kiehl bests her betters in the women's event. For Speed Skater Dan Jansen, though, the agony doubles.



### BUSINESS: As a blueprint for the future. 88 Reagan's budget is woefully inadequate

The President who campaigned on a promise that he would wipe out the deficit by the end of his first term is now finishing his second term with that goal nowhere in sight. Why has he failed? The question prompted TIME's Washington bureau to undertake an ambitious project; drafting its own long-term proposal for a balanced budget that would be feasible as well as fair.



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Shultz heads for the Middle East to talk about peace. ▶ A Marine hostage in Lebanon. ▶ An economic crisis grips Nicaragua.

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After a tumultuous 21/2year incubation, selfappointed Guru Frances Lear launches Lear's, a magazine cele-fuss, no muss: video brating women over 40. pets are here.

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Cinema Trashmaster John Waters goes PG with the bright, air-headed Hairspray. ▶ Sidney Poitier returns, cool as ever, in Shoot to Kill.

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Living Long seen as a symbol of button-down regimentation, white shirts are back in style. ▶ No

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Design A high-rise boom is renewing Times Squareand threatening the funky, spontaneous qualities that make the area special

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Behavior For the very rich, guilt and anxiety can transform privilege and status into a gilded prison. In some circles they call

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Video From the ski slopes of Calgary to the polling booths of New Hampshire, TV had a busy week of hyping the human drama.

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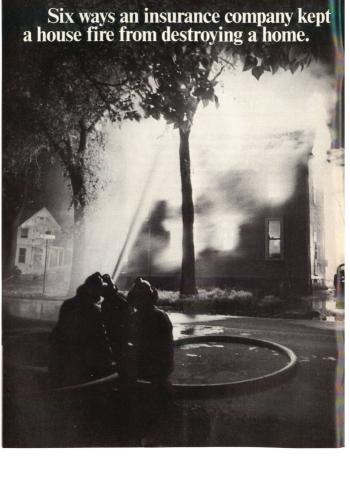
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### Cover: Illustration by Edward Sorel

TIME (SSN 00407-21X1) is published seekly for \$58.5 After year. by Time inc. Time for. Procision Office: Time 8.16th fluiding, Rockefeliar Center, New York, N.Y., 100/20-1393, N.J. Nicholas i. Bernard Center of the Center of t





A true story.

On October 2nd, 1984, a fire in a clothes dryer nearly destroyed the home of an elderly couple. Like most, their home was covered by insurance. And like many of us, they hadn't read their policy in a long time. They were in for a few surprises.

- 1. Their insurance paid to house them. John O'Brien, the insurance adjuster, arranged temporary housing the day he arrived on the scene.
- 2. Their insurance paid to clothe them. He arranged an immediate advance to cover living expenses and extra clothing.
- Their insurance paid their
  their surral living expenses. Mr.
  O'Brien figured out how long it
  would be before the couple could
  move back into their home. And
  arranged for the insurance company to pay their additional living
  expenses until it was ready.
- 4. The work started on day one.
  The couple and the insurance adjuster assessed the damage, met with the contractor and settled the costs immediately. The workers

began rebuilding the next morning. The insurance company began to pay for the repairs immediately.

- 5. Two weeks later their belongings were replaced. Mr. O'Brien went over their personal losses, and two weeks later they received a check to cover everything inside the house that the fire destroyed.
- 6. Four months after the fire they moved back in. Exactly four months and two days after the fire that practically destroyed their house, they had their home again.

A few days later, Mr. O'Brien stopped by. Why? To see if there was *anything else* that he could do.

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### **A Letter from the Publisher**

President Reagan was putting A the last touches on his eighth bud get proposal to Congress last week, a similar exercise was taking place three blocks north of the White House, in our Washington bureau. TIME correspondents, playing the roles of the Cabinet officers they are normally assigned to cover, decided to try their hands at chopping the \$150 billion federal deficit. The result, which appears in this week's Economy & Business section, may not revolutionize the budget process, but it is likely to encourage more than a few taxpayers to pick up a pencil and try it themselves

National Economics Correspondent Richard Hornik conceived the project as a way of illustrating why

Congress and the President have not gone far enough to solve the deficit crisis. Hornik grew increasingly alarmed by the problem upon returning to the U.S. ten months ago after two years as bureau chief in Beijing, where budget decisions are not hindered by public opinion. "As a nation, we have been living beyond our means," he says. "The economic health of this country cannot be ensured unless the budget deficit is reduced."

Hornik and his colleagues interviewed experts, assessed the worthiness of costly weapons systems, debated tax increases and piled up enormous personal deficits on late-night coffee and take-



Taking on the U.S. deficit: Hornik and Gup

out cheeseburgers. Like the policymakers in the White House and on Capitol Hill, they quickly learned that there is no free lunch, takeout or otherwise. National Security Correspondent Bruce van Voorst selflessly suggested deep cuts in spending at the Pentagon, but Correspondents Ricardo Chavira, Glenn Garelik and Dick Thompson and Reporter Jerome Cramer had a tougher time slicing the nondefense areas they cover. "We had hoped to crunch numbers dispassionately," recalls Correspondent Ted Gup, who covers Congress. "But the numbers are merely symbols expressing values. Passions are aroused when values come into conflict. If a roomful of journalists found it so difficult to agree, you can imagine how hard it is for lawmakers.

Senior Editor Charles Alexander, who supervised the project with the help of Associate Editor Stephen Koepn, does not suggest that the correspondents' budget is the only one that will work. "We wanted to stimulate discussion," he says. Of course, he adds with a wry smile, "cutting the deficit was a little easier for us. We don't have to run for re-election."

Robert L. Miller

### Once again the world is flat.

NewsQuest from TIME turns this week's world into a lively computer challenge.

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For more information, call 1-800-523-8727. (In Pennsylvania, call 1-800-637-8509.) We'll send teachers all the information needed to sign up. And don't be surprised if you end up playing NewsQuest yourself. After all, students shouldn't have all the fun.





### Letters

### **Bush and Rather**

To the Editors:

The George Bush-Dan Rather confrontation on television [NATION, Feb. 8] epitomizes the democratic process at work: a good reporter with a dogged determination to get at the truth pitted against a politician with a pernicious persistence to evade it.

Naushad Khair Manchester, Conn.



I have seen convicts treated with more respect by CBS than Bush was. It is not difficult to see why the Vice President insisted on being broadcast live. Only a fool would allow the network a chance to perform creative editing. Rather was more than hard hitting: he was rude.

Roger K. Pratt Augusta, Ga.

Three cheers for Rather! I don't watch the news to feel comfortable. I watch it to get the facts, even if they are disturbing, and Rather did a great job trying to get them from Bush. May Rather keep up the aggressive style. The American people need it.

Mark Bedor Chico, Calif.

Just where do you draw the line between forceful journalism and bad taste? Rather found the line, then redrew it. I won't change my vote from Bob Dole, but I will change my television network.

Kenneth M. Gorrell Laconia, N.H.

In a typical televised debate, longwinded politicians answer powder-puff questions with set speeches. Rather showed us how a political debate should be conducted. He was tenacious, not rude. George Marantian Westwood Mass.

Once again Americans have had to witness the media's appalling lack of respect for their public officials. Like a prosecutor, Rather questioned our Vice President as if he were actually on trial, which

> Gerald A. Black Fontana, Calif.

When all the dust has settled and the tough talk from Bush has died down, we will still be waiting for him to answer the

he was not.

questions on just what role he played in the Iran-contra affair.

James Hulbert Fort Wayne, Ind.

### 1 on wayne, m

Icahn: Hero or Villain?

After reading the story on Corporate Raider Carl Icahn IECONOMY & BUSI-NESS, Feb. 8]. I would like to recommend him as a presidential nominee. Considering his accomplishments with debt-ride companies, there's no doubt in my mind that all president himself of the companies of the control of the lack.

Jules Levine Los Angeles

I could not believe your article about that despicable, vile Carl Icahn. It does nothing but provoke disgust in the thousands of working people who know about this man who takes over companies. Why don't you tell about the families and lives he has destroyed? Ask the people who work for him what they think. He's hated, I assure you.

David Skiles Olive Branch, Miss.

### **Health-Spending Spiral**

The basic reason that health-care costs are rising [ECONOMY & BUSINESS, Feb. 1] is quite simple. When we feel well, we endlessly pontificate on physicians fees and uncontrolled expenses. But when we are ill, we demand immediate service from highly trained health-care providers and expect that they will unleash all available new technology, regardless of the expense. If we suspect that this isn't happening, we reserve the right to sue. If our demands for health services are boundless, then outlays will naturally continue to rise. We must learn to either pay up and shut up or sit down together and make some difficult societal decisions about restricting services.

Robert W. Smith, M.D. Manchester, N.H.

Medical care is not exclusively a matter of minimizing expenses or maximizing corporate profits. When these goals conflict with what I believe to be in a patient's best interest, I shall continue to place that individual's interests first. It is, after all, I, not the employer or insurance company, who bear the moral and legal responsibility for the patient's well-being. If my authority to order procedures or make other clinical decisions is restricted, will the employer or whoever enforces these restrictions assume the responsibility for the person's recovery?

Richard Williams, M.D. Pinole, Calif.

As a hospital executive caught in the crunch between the ethical and economic issues facing today's health-care industry, I read the piece on the runaway costs of health care with more than casual interest. While Dr. William Roper of the Health Care Financing Administration may deride the "unfettered decision making by physicians," he and his colleagues need to take a public position on whether health care is a right of American citizens or a purchased service available only to those who can pay. Although the industry will become more efficient over time, we will not meet the nation's increasing expectations on a tight budget. The former must be lowered or the latter raised.

John C. Goldthorpe, President Hillcrest HealthCare System Tulsa

### Intellect at Large

As a person in a wheelchair, I read with great interest hearticle on Physicist Stephen Hawking and his severe disability PROFILE, Feb. 8.1 I was disappointed, however, to see you refer to him as "confined to a wheelchair, a virtual prisoner in his own body." The expression "confined to a wheelchair, a virtual prisoner in his own body." The expression "confined as wheelchair are are liberating, not confining. And as for his being a "prisoner in his own body." who is not?

Benjamin Mattlin Los Angeles

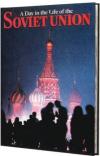
The profile of "one of the world's greatest theoretical physicists" is an article I will keep. Although Hawking thinks equations might discourage readers, the formula E—me' will not deter me from buying his book A Brief History of Time. Not only is he a scientific genius, he is an inspiration to all of us who survive in this infinite nuines.

Susan S. Bishop Germantown, Md.

Confusing Combination
Your story on the dilemma of using
anencephalic and feat lissue for transplants EFILICS, Feb. Il was offensive and
hurtful to me and my husband. Recently
we faced the most difficult decision of our
lives. Diagnosed as carrying an anencephalic child when I was five months pregnant. I chose to carry her to full term and
donate her organs to help other tables.

The control of the con

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### Letters

from aborted fetuses and discussed profits from "fetal factories." All these practices raise ethical questions, but it is unjustifiably cruel to combine them in one story. Anencephaly is in a category by itself.

Brenda Winner

Arcadia, Calif.

### Mass-Market Bagels

The report on the bagel IFOOD, Feb. 81 saddened me. For years my father dragged me out of bed to get fresh bagels on weekends. When I got home with them, still warm in the brown paper bag, and wolfed a couple down with hot chocolate. It made the trip worth it. Alas, Burger King sells them with ham and cheese, and even my aging dad has succumbed catching to charge in the property of the second of the couple of the coupl

Marty Sambroski Rochester

On behalf of all of us at this company. I must tell you that I find "trivialized" prostitute," even "authentic" pretty strong words to use about bagels. Unless your writer or her sources are hundreds of years old, he authenticity of a bagel is a difficult topic to address. In my years in the business, I have sampled bagels from innumerable shops, and no two are allike. Bagel making was, and still is, an art that is unless.

Paul C. Stolzer, President Big Apple Bagels, Inc. Naperville, Ill.

Remembering the golden days when bagels had hard, glazed crusts, I still treasure the one-liner, "Bagels are doughnuts dipped in concrete."

Philip L. Davis Pittsburgh

### Fashion Fantasy

How do so-called designers like Christian Lacroix of France [LIVING, Feb. 8] have the nerve to put those atrocious garments together and expect to all them? They should consider themselves tucky if they can give them away. I cannot believe there are women who would buy such trash.

Cynthia Bayerdorffer Guilford, Me.

I know you'll get at least a dozen letters saying the same thing, but when I saw the pictures of Lacroix's "triumphs," all I could say to myself was: The Emperor has no clothes! What is it about our world that we need to be more and more bizarre to get a thrill?

Lynn M. Wirthlin Winona Lake, Ind.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center. New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

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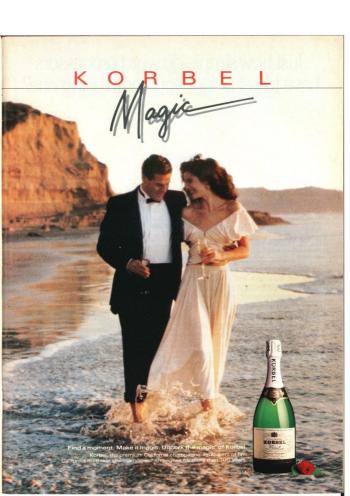
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hard part about working with the Videowriter is deciding what to write.



### **American Scene**

### In Arizona: White-Knuckle Astronomy

Marcia Rieke sits on a mound of dirt on a cold mountainton. nearly two miles up in the clear Arizona sky, watching the sun go down and worrying. A shadow slowly creeps past her, cast by a nearby tan, four-story building that looks like a gigantic bread box. Inside the bread box is the Multiple Mirror Telescope, the world's third most powerful telescope. It looks like no other. There is no glistening dome; it might be a four-story barn. But there are 800 tons of it, and it turns. The whole structure can pirouette 360°, enormously simplifying the aiming of the instrument. It is probably the world's only building with snowplow blades on its corners to clear a path as it rotates about a circular track. When its doors open, they reveal not a sleek, tubular telescope, but a six-eved monster, a hexagonal array of half a dozen 72inch mirrors, the sum of whose images equals the capacity of a single mirror 176 inches across.

None of which bears directly on the reasons why Rieke, a professor of astronomy at the University of Arizona, is worrying. She been planning for this night for most of a year. Her invitation was an intriguing one: "If you want to see some real white-knuckle astronomy, be out here on the 14th."

Astronomy in a normally considered as never-acking a profession as, say, commodities trading or the high wire. This is a mistake. There is great tension, and it comes from scarcity. The mourtains the world, "may bristle with telescopes, but they are mighty rare in the remainder of the world." may bristle with telescopes, but they are mighty rare in the remainder of the world. There are about 500 American astronomers who publish at least one scholarly paper a year; there are only eight telescopes large enough to see the profession of them.

Rieke has driven to the mountainton with her husband George, also a professor of astronomy at the University of Arizona. The two of them are part of a team that made headlines around the world this winter when it announced the discovery of what appeared to be new galaxies farther out in space and back in time than any other yet seen. Tonight they plan to use the experimental Red Channel Spectrograph, which "sees" deep red light when looking at a galaxy known as M82. Their "eyeball," the spectrograph, is supposed to analyze light that has passed through the telescope, pick out energy in the deep red frequencies coming from the



Marcia Rieke and the six-eyed monster: patience helps

galaxy, and display it on a television screen in symbols that may help the Riekes understand what is going on out there. Deep red light passes through galactic dust more easily than most other colors, and the Riekes are hoping to use the telescope and the spectrograph to penetrate the dust obscuring what they believe is a nursery of new stars. Explains Marcia Rieke: "This galaxy has made a whole lot of new stars, and very recently. Furthermore, she notes, "this guy is in the neighborhood, close by, at 10 million light-years." The edge of the universe is, by some estimates, 15 billion light-years out there, and the M.M.T. can cover fourfifths of the distance

Before a stargazer can even think about reaching those distances, it is necessary to get to the Arizona mountaintop. That's a tought trip, and one with two parts. First, the observer, who can be as renomenre, physicist, mathematician or even chemist, applies well these of time the proposal is new, interesting and most likely doable, it is considered. "Most nights are oversubscribed by 50%," says Ricke, "and it can run as high as four times." Then there is a joker in the deck.

If you as an applicant are approved and given a night or nights, that is your time. If it rains or clouds over, it is nevertheless still your night, and there are no second chances. You go back to the end of the line. On these mountains Mother Nature hats last.

The second part of the trip to the telescope is equally arduous. Marcia and George and their companion had just spent nearly two bone-shaking hours in a fourwheel-drive carryall with a lightyear of mileage on it. The telescope perches on the summit of the mountain on a rocky outcrop that looks as if it were reproduced from a Chinese print. The road would intimidate a mountain goat. Two-thirds of the way up the 18 kidney-crushing miles to the summit we start running into snow on the road, and it is cold

But then come Marcia's worries, and they are manifold: there are vigorous-looking clouds about, and it is cryptically announced that there are "some problems" with the Red Channel Spectrograph, Marcia has expressed earlier concern about the gadget, "about as big as a small outhouse," which contains a million transistors and costs \$200,000.

A word here about the process of astronomy:

▶ Rarely, rarely, does anyone actually look with an eye through one of these big telescopes. The "eye" now most probably is a charge-coupled device, the same electronic "film" that makes home video cameras work—except this electronic film is of extra-ordinary sensitivity.

Nobody wears tidy white laboratory coats. It is bloody freezing cold in the mountains, and the entire crew pads about swathed in layers of wool and copious amounts of down, like multicolored Pillsbury Doughboys.

"Some problems" with the Red Channel Spectrograph has but as ingle translation: the miserable thing won't work, It was performing perfectly in the Tucson lab, but it is being balky here at the telescope. These edge-of-the-possible electronic devices resemble the little girl with the curl: when they work, they can be wondrous, opening up both vistas and questions; when they quit, they can make

Because the Red Channel Spectrograph is ailing and the Riekes are sharing the night with another astronomer, who is going first, there is nothing to do for a while. We drive a couple of hundred yards down to the common room, a comfortable



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building that houses a kitchen, a pool table, a satellite-dish TV, chairs and couches, and a library. After a quick microwave dinner, the Riekes go back to the M.M.T., where things are still not going well. Glaring at a spectrograph that has smeared a useless mess across the screen, George mutters, "This run is slightly snakebit. "Snakebit?" Marcia asks. "More like co-bra-bit." It's now 8:45. Marcia's object. M82, is due to become visible in a little more than four hours, and still the red channel isn't working. Marcia retreats to a corner in one of the labs, produces a hand-held calculator and a big stack of printouts, and proceeds to "crunch numhers" By 9:15 she becomes restless and wanders back downstairs. "I'm gonna see what those guys are doing." The red chan-nel is having all its circuit boards replaced one by one. The changes do no good. Next the cables are switched about, likewise to no avail. 10:02. Marcia: "We're getting to a time where we're going to have to make a brutal decision." 10:12. Marcia: "This ain't a winner. I thought all we had to worry about was the weather." 10:20.



The giant bread box high on a mountain

Marcia: "We're dead in the water." The Riekes make a decision: they are going to give up their section of the night to the other astronomer, who's not using the red channel of the spectrograph. "This is the first time this has happened to me in a long time," says Marcia. "We'll just apply again." Back to the end of the line. Marcia and George go down to the common room for a little commiseration-and get it. A small, very late-night toast is offered. Morning arrives, and after too few hours of sleep in the mountaintop's minimotel, the equanimity of the night before has given way to a little ire. "A night like this could be career damaging to a 'postdoc,' " explains George. "They have only two years and, if lucky, ten viewing nights to prove their merit as astronomers.

George and Marcia prepare to head down the mountain and home. The day is clear and still cold. They drive back up to the M.M.T. to gather their equipment. Marcia, her arms full of tapes, papers and a computer, sides over to the spectrograph, now completely sealed satisfying kick. Then the Rikes climb into the truck and trundle down the mountain. — By Stephen Northup

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### Foam fast-food containers: The scapegoat, not the problem

In New York State, a bill before the legislature would include a ban on polystyrene foam in food packaging after 1991, and impose special taxes on its manufacturers. In Los Angeles, the mayor orders city departments to stop buying foam coffee containers and similar products. In other cities and states in some parts of the country, government officials, beset by shortages of landfills and municipal incinerators, but no shortage of garbage, are zeroing in on a popular, highly visible target: plastic foam packaging.

As manufacturers of plastics-including the foam containers used by the fast-food industry-we're deeply concerned about the solid waste disposal problem. But the problem has to be attacked logically and scientifically, without a helter-skelter rush to anoint villains. For the fact is, there are no villains, and we're all "guilty." Every household, every business, every office-indeed, every American—contributes to the refuse stream every day. To zero in on the fastfood business, or the plastics industry, is to engage in scapegoating, not problem-solving

Here, then are some facts-along with some myths-about plastic foam containers

Myth: It's frivolous for the fast-food industry to use plastic foam con-

Fact: Consumers want their food fresh, clean, and served at certain nperatures, without sogginess. Foam best meets these demands. Restaurants that don't use foam to meet these demands do use a form of paper-but the paper is coated with plastic or wax to do its intended job. Either way, solid waste is generated.

Myth: But paper is biodegradable and foam isn't.

Fact: Paper isn't necessarily biodegradable, and coated paper certainly isn't. In a sanitary landfill, where air and sunlight are absent and moisture is limited, it often takes decades for even uncoated paper to degrade. In fact, archeologists, probing old landfills, have recovered intact newspapers in which they could read dates of 40 years ago. And these old papers, obviously, weren't plastic-coated, the way fast-food containers are

Myth: Foam packaging is among the prime reasons landfills are rapidly reaching capacity and closing down.

Fact: Paper substitutes for fast-food foam packaging add as much weight to a landfill as does foam. According to studies done for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, less than one-half of one percent of the municipal waste stream is fast-food foam packaging. EPA says 37 percent is paper and paperboard, with yard waste accounting for about 18 percent. Ten percent is glass, and a like amount is metals. Some seven percent is plastics. So your neighborhood fast-food restaurant and its foam packages are hardly the cause of the landfill shortage

Myth: When they're incinerated, plastic foam containers emit harmful ments into the air. Paper packaging doesn't.

Fact: Proper incineration of foam produces virtually nothing but harmless carbon dioxide and water vapor. Furthermore, combustion of plastics in an incinerator contributes no more to pollution than paper, wood, or even leaves. But the truth is that these materials can be burned without harmful emissions in properly equipped, modern incinerators, as is being done all over the world.

Myth: Disposable paper products are recycled; plastic foam isn't Fact: With regard to the food industry, the recycling argument is a red herring. Neither foam nor paper food containers are recycled because they

contain residual food. Recycling is a valid solution to part of the overall waste problem, but is irrelevant in the foam vs. paper comparison. Actually, the real issue is one of lifestyles, and not specific packaging materials. The need for a package never goes away. What's at stake are the

often-intangible things we speak of as modern conveniences. Do American mothers—and fathers—really want to go back to boiling cloth diapers? We'll be commenting on the larger solid waste disposal issue from time to

time. But plastic foam itself isn't a significant part of the problem, and the argument of paper vs. plastic is a spurious one. The waste problem is complex and won't be solved by simplistic actions. Multiple solutions are needed: More recycling, siting of new landfills, construction of new incinerators

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### TIME

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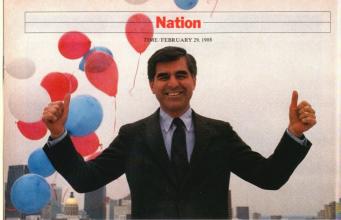
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Instructor: Peter Caras



Deert Papp's "Dreams" is one winner in a nationwide Olympic Challenge that's enlisting high school and college artists to aid the United States Olympic team. Says Robert, "My entry symbolizes the dreamer the Olympic Games bring out in all of us, and the wonderful influence Olympic heroes have on American youth."

Won't you help today's young dreamers become tomorow's Olympic heroes? Jolin Robert Papp and support America's athletes. We'll send you an official (J.S. Olympic pin for joining the team. Send your tax-deductible contribution to: The (J.S. Olympic Committee, Fund '88. Colorado Springs, CO 80950. Or call toll-free: 1-800-847-2872.



Dukakis in Atlanta last week: With his smug New England appearance, he tries to break out of the regional mold

# "I'm One of You"

### Racing South, both parties search for their post-Reagan souls



In the lame-duck days of the Roman Empire, barbarian tribes frequently jostled one another as they trundled across the Eurasian landmass. Sometimes the stronger would displace the weaker, sometimes they would wage war among themselves, and occa-

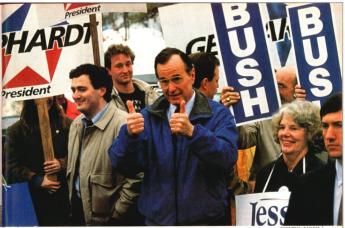
sionally there was a process of cooperation and mutual assimilation. And so it has been with the various factions that seek to control the turf of America's political parties. New tribes wander in and displace older ones, struggling every now and then to capture the soul of their party. Only rarely does a leader come along who can smother factional rivalries and give definition to a party through the force of his own presence.

Franklin Roosevelt was such a leader, forging the coalition that became the modern Democratic Party. Ronald Reagan is another. For almost eight years, he has defined both parties: a disparate array of Republicans became Reaganauts all, and true Democrats of various stripes united as resisters of the revolution. Now both parties must find their post-Reagan souls. The

task is not easy, as their rebirth pains show. Last week the foolish notion that this could largely be sorted out by 400,000 voters in Iowa and New Hampshire was dispelled. As both parties head South, it seems likely that their infighting will continue until voters in the 48 other states get their say.

The gauzy morning-in-America aura of the Reagan regime has been characterized by a willful failure to face fiscal realities. The resulting budget and trade deficits constrict the ideas and visions that candidates might see fit to offer. Though the nation knows in its gut that it is time to move beyond the feel-good pap that Reagan offered, it is not ready to bestow popularity on those who call for realistic prescriptions. Last week Bruce Babbitt discovered that sad truth. So did Robert Dole, whose sin was taking the sensible position that he would not rule out all tax increases.

Reagan's fade from the landscape he once dominated reveals the factionalism that riddles both parties. It is reflected in what has become the strange and somewhat tribal rallying cry inscribed on the banners of the 1988 campaign: HE'S ONE OF US. For some, the message is mainly regional: Michael Dukakis grandly quaffing a mug of clam chowder upon landing in New Hampshire from Iowa, as he tried to overcome the aloof smugness that seems plastered to his face: Al-



Bush in New Hampshire: No matter how hard he tries or how many forklifts he drives, he still seems like one of "ther

bert Gere whistling Dezie while he waited for Super Tuesday, But when Dole said that Iowa voters should "timin of Bob Dole as one of us." he was referring not just to his regional proxmity but to the Andreds-robble heritage he shares with many of them. It was a matter of class, of culture, of sexts, of tribes. The George Bash that seem to reverberate in Dole's dark inner soul. Bash, the quasti-New Englander, tried to usurp the "I'm one of you" line when his campaign moved to New Hampshire. But from his mouth it sounded a bit silty, one thing Bush is not, no and of the people. If it frucks he is photographed civing, is a man of the people.

Richard Gephardt has been wondrously able to transform himself from a Washington insider to a tribal populist. He speaks of the battle in us-vs-them terms, casting himself as a crusader against the very same thems he was once proud to be a part of. For others, the message has cultural underprinnings: Pat Robertson identifying himself with God's elect, Jesse Jackson with the disaffected.

One of the subtleties of the old nominating process was that it used to reward candidates who could bring together contailions and unify various wings and sects of the party. In order to get to the top of the ticket, a contender had to show broad-based appeal to a variety of bosses and tribal groups. But these days the process is so long and so many people run that it rewards those who can arouse the sectarian resentments or cater to the particular demands of fervent factions, notes Policial Scientist Nelson Polsby.

Without Reagan to subsume them all into one fold. Republicans show signs of splintering into four of their old tribes: the country-club and Wall Street establishment, the Main Street heartland conservatives, the Religious Right and the fervent disciples of supply side. Reagan in 1984 could be claimed "one of us" by all of these groups. But this time, each has its own standard-bearer: Bush, Dole, Robertson or Kemp.

Likewise the Democrats show signs of splintering into post-Reagan tribes (though as is their wont they do not line up neatly behind one candidate). There are the impassioned populists, which is what Gephardt recently decided he would become. There is the party's Washington establishment, dedicated to whitting away at Reaganism by deft compromises, which is what Gephardt belonged to until his self-reinvention. He was also once associated with the Auri Demecrast, though Dukakis now might have more of a claim to that half-forgotten label. The def-dashioned blurash have Paul Simon to carry their banner, at each exceeding the control of t

Perhaps the only worthy New Idea that Gary Hart contributed this time around was the quaint notion. Let the people decide. In his case they did, decisively. The people of New Hampshire and lowa also rendered verdicts on Babbitt, whose graceful exit showed him to be a class act to the very end. Pete du Pont, who was never all that convincing as a right-winger, and Alexander Haig, who was never all that convincing as someone who should be in challenge.

But the most striking decision by the people of Iowa and New Hampshire was, in effect, to let the people in the rest of the country decide too. Unlike 1980, when the seven-man Republican field was pretty much winnowed to Reagan and Bush by Iowa and New Hampshire, or 1984, when an eight-man Democratic field was virtually reduced to Hart and Mondale, this time the winnowing has been meagen.

As a result, the two nominees may be chosen not because of such peripheral factors as media-fueled momentum but because they did the best at winning delegates from all corners of the country. Not only would this widen the process of groping toward a post-Reagan consensus, it would also be the best way to reduce the tribalism and factionalism that now infect both parties.

Reported by Laurence I. Barrett/Manchester

# **Again the Man to Beat**

George Bush heads to warmer climes after confounding the doomsayers



Eleven a.m., primary day, Nashua, N.H. Lee Atwater, George Bush's campaign manager, is nearly beside himself with nervous energy.

He has five phones going in his room at the Clarion Hole Ordinarily a health nut, he has mooched several cigarettes from assistants his morning, and puffs on them rapidly like a teenager learning hos tosmoke. An underling calls with the late sit intelligence from fieldworkers: "Buth, reasoning but Atwater keeps talking about a controller," Ordinary for the property of the propert

During the seven tense days after his crushing defeat in the Iowa caucuses. George Bush gazed deep into the black hole of defeat. The bounce from Iowa allowed Bob Dole to overcome a 20-point deficit in the New Hampshire polls; he seemed poised to knock Bush out in only the first round of the primary season. But during the final weekend before the New Hampshire vote, Bush's workers launched a brilliant offensive that rescued their man's candidacy. "I feel that I have a lot in common with Mark Twain," said Bush, who appeared more relieved than excited after beating Dole, 37% to 28%. "Reports of my death were greatly exaggerated." Said Deputy Campaign Manager Rich Bond: "I think we've got a candidate who's been through the fire and toughened up.

It was an odd sort of victory for Bush, just a few weeks ago, beating Dole by fewer than 10 points in New Hampshire would have been considered quite limp. But in the supercharged age of nonstop rancking polls, especiations change alcided voters. By the weekend before the voting, polls showed Dole pulling ahead. Surveys taken before the final debate and before the last ads were aired reinforced the conventional wisdom that Bush was victory than became a surrivising trimmin.

Since he is stronger than Dole in the South, partly because of Ronald Reagan's popularity there, Bush goes into the Super Tuesday race as the undisputed favorite for the nomination. But Bush's New Hampshire rebound resolved little: the only thing settled is that nothing will be settled until at least after the Super Tuesday votes are counted on March 8, and perhaps not until the end of the pri-

mary season in June. Although the winner-take-all nature of most Republican primaries—and the lack of a large bloc of uncommitted superdelegates—makes a bartered G.O.P. convention far less likely than a bartered Democratic one, the New Hampshire results indicate that both races may so down to the wire.

Part of the reason is Pat Robertson.

throughout the region, a burgeoning war chest and the support of Governors in South Carolina, Texas, Florida and Oklahoma. As he did in New Hampshire, Bush can hype his loyalty to the President without worrying about an Iowa-style, anti-Reagan populist backlash. In a TIME poll taken last Wednesday and Thursday, Bush beat Dio E 53% to 23% in the South.



The Bushes watch the returns: "Reports of my death were greatly exaggerated"

His fifth-place New Hampshire finish (9% of the vote) did not shake his faith. After all, New England hasn't been susceptible to the charms of evangelical leaders since the days of the Second Great Awakening in the early 19th century. He pronounced the South his backyard, and is likely to prove it so. By coming in third with 13%. New York Congressman Jack Kemp kept alive his financially strapped candidacy and his hopes of emerging from Robertson's shadow as the electable conservative challenger. After his fourthplace showing, former Delaware Governor Pete du Pont, an inconsequential player from the start of the race, joined Al Haig on the sidelines. So for the next three weeks at least, four serious candidates will be splitting up the vote

Bush's strength in the South is supplemented by impeccable organizations But Robertson's no-longer-so-invisible army has been hard at work phoning voters and mailing thousands of Robert-son's What I Will Do at President audio-cassettes. Given that 44% of Americans called themselves evangelical or Fundamentalist Christians in Thur's survey, their cases the state of the state

The former televangelist is relying on support from conservative Democrats, who will be allowed to cross over and vote in many of the South's G.O.P. contests, including those in Texas, Georgia and Virginia. In Louisiana. Kentucky and North

Carolina, where cross-over voting is not permitted in the Super Tuesday primaries, Robertson soldiers have for months been organizing drives to reregister sympathetic Democrats as Republicans. Everett Zeagler, registrar of voters in Ouachita Parish in northern Louisiana, processed hundreds of reregistrations daily before the Feb. 12 deadline, many on forms prepared by the Robertson campaign. "We've never seen anything anywhere near this in 20 years," said Zeagler.

"I am throwing down the gauntlet to George Bush in South Carolina," said Robertson, referring to the primary that takes place three days before Super Tuesday, "If I lose this one, I'm in trouble." It will be a direct Bush-Robertson showdown, with Dole staying at a pretty safe distance. Atwater, who hails from the state and cut his teeth managing campaigns there, has rounded up the entire political establishment for the Vice President. "If we don't win South Carolina," Atwater said in November, "we might as well pack our bags." A rattled Atwater was less adamant after Robertson's second-place finish in Iowa. "They'd love to ambush me and Bush in South Carolina," he fretted

Dole's Southern strategy his organization scattershot

"We're only able to fight one battle at a time," says a Dole ally. "We're not ready to fight on several fronts at once, and we're not ready for Super Tuesday.' Moreover, the Senator has failed to cultivate the political movers and shakers who control the G.O.P.'s Southern establishment. Between Bush's superior organization and Robertson's appeal to a small but fervent cadre of supporters, Super Tuesday could prove disastrous for Dole

One hope for the Kansan may be that Robertson does

so well in the South that he also damages Bush. Both Dole and Robertson pulled out of last Friday's Republican debate in Dallas. claiming that their campaigns

had received only 60 tickets each for the event and the vast majority of the 2,600 available seats went to Bush supporters. While Dole and Robertson were staying in the same New Hampshire hotel last week, they met to discuss boycotting the debate. The Senator, however, denied persistent rumors that he and Robertson had talked

Bush

Dole

seems practically nonexistent, After the fall: the Doles bid farewell to New Hampshire

about dividing their resources throughout the South in an effort to conquer Bush. "We don't need to make a deal," sniffed Dole's Florida coordinator, Rocky Pennington.

Dole should poll well in this week's South Dakota primary and Minnesota caucuses if his Midwestern "one of us" theme plays as well as it did in Iowa. But last week Bush halted his efforts in the South Dakota contest, making any Dole

victory there somewhat hollow. The caucus for-

Who is your first choice for President?

Nation Impressions of candidates Nation/South Favorable Unfavorable Jan. 48/53% Robertson 9/15% Asked of 521 likely Rep (158 in the So

mat in Minnesota favors the highly motivated, so the Robertson forces may make a strong showing there.

As Dole toured the South late last week, he seemed depressed and distracted. His press entourage had dwindled. Rally crowds were thin. In a Florida address, the ordinarily aggressive Senator was on the defensive. "Whatever you see on TV ads. Bob Dole is not going to raise taxes," he said. once again employing the thirdperson syntax that is beginning to sound like self-parody. "Bob Dole has never raised taxes."

It was a sudden, startling turnaround for a candidate who had so recently been on top of the world. Basking in the afterglow of his Iowa triumph, Dole poured on the charm in New Hampshire. As his standings in the polls rose, so did the candidate's spirits. Monday morning he bragged about having slept in, and predicted victory. That night he donned a grandfatherly sweater vest and joined Campaign Manager Bill Brock and two TIME reporters having dinner at his hotel, "Maybe Bush's huge organization is a myth," he gloated. He began musing about new supporters. "When are we going to get Uncle Strom on board?" he inquired playfully, referring to South Carolina's rightwing Senator Thurmond. "My candidate has front runner-itis joked Brock, "He keeps wanting more endorsements.

Dole's mood darkened as soon as the New Hampshire outcome became clear. Just as victory had seemed to liberate him, defeat sent him reverting to his old caustic persona. During a television hookup with Bush Tuesday night, Dole was asked by NBC's Tom Brokaw whether he had anything to say to the Vice President. "Yeah," Dole snarled as he glowered into the camera. "Stop lying about my record."

After the defeat, Brock was as bitter as his boss, lashing out at Bush's alleged distortions of the Dole record. "We're sick to the gills with this kind of tactic," said Brock. "We don't have to wallow in the mud with them to answer their charges (In fact, the attacks were not so much

untrue as they were cheap: Dole has indeed waffled about whether some new revenues might be

necessary to tackle the deficit issue. But so at times has Bush.) // Behind the scenes, Dole accused his minions of losing the contest for him. "When things go wrong," said an aide, "Dole's not the type to blame himself." At

week's end the Dole staff appeared to be coming unglued. Amid all the angry finger pointing, the Senator's aides seemed unable to come up with a revamped strategy for their candidate.

### Nation

In stark contrast to the Dole camp after New Hampshire, the Bush team had refused to crumble into chaos following the Iowa setback. After a few days of dejection, the Vice President's men mapped out a new strategy and brought in ace Speechwriter Peggy Noonan, a Reagan favorite, to add a human touch to Bush's bland rhetoric. Bush adopted a man-ofthe-people campaign style, touring a shopping mall and a lumber-

yard, dining at a truck stop and a McDonald's.

Bush's point man in the Granite State was Governor John Sununu, a onetime engineer who brought to the New Hampshire campaign the meticulous attention to detail that his former profession demanded. Last summer Sununu screened virtually every one of the 299 Bush precinct captains in New Hampshire. He made sure that thousands of calls to Bush supporters were made every week, keeping the faithful juiced up. Before the Iowa caucuses, he sent workers: expect bad news: don't let it shake your people; use it as a tool to motivate supporters.

When Bush canvassers identified a couple with children away at college, they made sure the students received absentee ballots. "We took this seriously," said Sununu matter-of-factly. "We did some spade-

work here

But television was the key to Bush's comeback. After much hedging, Bush decided on the Saturday before the primary to air the commercial that criticized Dole for "straddling" a variety of issues and refusing to oppose tax increases, which eventually led to Dole's outburst. That night the Vice President appeared on the

three major area stations in a half-hour "Ask George Bush" forum. On Monday. Barry Goldwater, grand old man of the right, flew to New Hampshire to endorse Bush and shoot a five-minute commercial with the candidate. "I believe in George Bush," Goldwater said in the TV spot. 'He's the man to continue the conservative revolution we started 24 years ago."

Bush's surge was so sudden that many



The Congressman hopes to emerge from his rival's shadow.

pollsters missed the trend. Most tracking polls question a relatively small number of voters, usually fewer than 400, in each party every night. The results are then averaged over several days. The weekend before the primary, most tracking polls showed the race dead even. Some, most notably Gallup, gave Dole the lead by as much as 8 points. By Monday most polls detected that Bush was picking up momentum. Dole's pollster, Richard Wirthlin, found Bush gaining ground but on the basis of his weekend data still insisted the Senator would triumph. The volatility of the poll data could be a troubling sign for

both candidates. It is indicative of soft, unreliable support. Bush's ultimate 10point victory shows that a good number of voters may have changed their minds just hours before the primary.

The Vice President's men were quick to cluck over the Bush victory-and to turn up the heat in an effort to rattle their opponent further, "Dole loves to dish it out," said Atwater, "but if something

happens to him, he gets this spoilsport attitude." Appearing on television's Mac-Neil-Lehrer Report, Atwater bragged about the Bush-Sununu grass-roots strategy and said. "If Senator Dole would try to do the same thing, instead of all this bellyaching, he's probably going to do a lot better. Taking the bait, Bill Brock later growled, "Lee Atwater ought to grow up.

New Hampshire's bottom line: George Bush is again the man to beat for the Republican presidential nomination. Never mind the whiny voice, the uninspiring message, the utter lack of charisma. New Hampshire demonstrated the power of

an experienced, thorough campaign organization, the effectiveness of hard-hitting advertising and the priceless importance of being Ronald Reagan's heir presumptive in the Republican Party. Moreover. Bush has shown that he will not easily fold. For all the clichés about wimpiness, the Vice President does possess the proverbial fire in the belly. "If we learned anything," said Dole Consultant David Keene, "it's that we're going to have to knock him down. He won't fall down by "it's that we're going to have to himself' -By Jacob V. Lamar.

Reported by David Beckwith and Alessandra Stanley/Manchester

### Republicans

South Carolina: Crucial showdown between Bush and Robertson as a prelude to Super Tuesday. Florida: Bush is strong with the Establishment, and his son Jeh has been working Cubans; Dole is banking on a heavy TV drive. Texas: One of Bush's many home states, this open primary is a tantalizing prize for the well-financed Vice President. Louisiana: The Reagan coattails help Bush over the lesserknown Dole, while Robertson could surge in the Fundamentalist areas. North Carolina: Elizabeth Dole's home roots help her husband, but the pros are pushing Bush. Democrats may switch parties to lift Robertson.



### Democrats

Wyoming: Gore has a shot at an initial pre-Super Tuesday lift, but Dukakis is the obstacle. Florida: If Dukakis cannot do well here, the rest of Dixie may elude him. Georgia: Something for everyone-Dukakis is working the urban areas; Gore has help from legislative leaders; Gephardt plays well in the outback and Jackson among blacks. Texas: Gephardt's oil-import fee and protectionism ring bells here, but half the local pros prefer Gore, Jackson and Dukakis should split the black and Hispanic vote. Louisiana: Jackson beat Mondale here in 1984 and has a good chance of winning the state again.

# BETA CAROTENE. JUST ANOTHER HEALTH FAD? OR DOES IT HELP REDUCE CANCER RISK?

You have probably been reading or hearing about a natural food substance called Beta Carotene. Newspapers, such as The New York Times and U.S.A. Today have been reporting on research findings published in leading professional publications on the association between Beta Carotene in the diet and lower incidence of certain cancers.

For example, The New England Journal of Medicine\* recently published a study done at Johns Hopkins University which showed a significantly lower occurrence of lung cancer in a group of people who had high blood levels of Beta Carotene. Based on these findings, it makes

tene. Based on these findings, it makes sense to eat foods rich in Beta Carotene. In fact, that is one of the recommendations made by the National Cancer Institute and the American Cancer Society.

Where can you find Beta Carotene? In dark green leafy vegetables like broccoli, spinach, kale, Swiss chard and greens from beets, collards and turnips. Also in yellow-orange vegetables like carrots, pumpkins, sweet potatoes. And fruits like apricots, peaches, papayas, cantaloupe and similar melons.

Including these foods in your diet isn't just another fad, it's a sound idea for anyone who is looking for ways to help reduce cancer risk. Remember, in addition to including plenty of fruits and vegetables in your diet, don't smoke and get regular medical check-ups.



### Nation

### Same Substance, Different Style

For Republicans, the real issue is temperament and personality



They should certainly not be | invited to the same dinner party. Even the Senate chamber is a bit confined for George Bush and Robert Dole. For that matter, the entire country

sometimes seems too small a place to absorb the personal antagonisms of the two front runners for the Republican presidential nomination. Theirs is hardly a tension born of ideological differences. On substance, Bush and Dole differ so little that in de-

bates they seem like two wrestlers faking

When Bush lapses into his gee-whiz optimism, that rosy outlook that comes from having everything dropped into his lap, Dole looks as if he wants to stuff a sock into Bush's mouth. When Dole makes one of his sardonic asides that let observers know he is above the low company he is temporarily keeping, Bush appears so offended by the impropriety of it all-no one made sharp remarks at the Bush family dinner table-that he is momentarily speechless.

Bush and Dole have reached the very pinnacle of Republican politics by vastly different paths. Bush's road was smooth and privileged, Dole's unrelentingly difficult. While Bush was being chauffeured to Greenwich Country Day School and going off to Andover and Yale, Dole was walking to the public schools of Russell, Kans., and working his way through the University of Kansas at Lawrence and Washburn University of Topeka. As Bush went to prove his manhood in a West Texas oil field with a family stake of \$500,000, Dole was serving as county atsoon rescued and left the service with no disabling wounds. Dole too was decorated in World War II, but the war left him crippled. He spent three years in hellish convalescence, moving from one hospital to another, without therapy for so long that the injury to his right arm became a disfiguring handicap.

Little wonder, then, that Dole has a dark side and that Bush, with his perky optimism, tends to bring it out. Dole has tried to suppress his brooding bitterness following his hatchet-man performance as the vice-presidential Republican candidate in the 1976 campaign. Since then, he has gone through two political makeovers designed to improve his body language and soften his style.

Dole's hard knocks have in some ways made him more appealing. Unlike



A Vice President who sails with the wind

it for the crowd. If Dole gets exercised when Bush charges that he would raise taxes, it is precisely because he knows their views on taxes are nearly identical. Both are pragmatic conservatives, men molded by political realities rather than burning convictions

But the similarity in outlook only heightens the deep differences in personality and style. In manner, temperament, perspective on life-that amorphous bundle of characteristics that define a person-Bush and Dole are like aliens from separate planets despite years traveling in the same orbit.

It is no accident that the two sit at opposite ends of any platform; any closer, and the friction could set the place on fire.

torney of Russell, where an unhappy part of his job was approving welfare payments to his grandparents.

Bush has seldom been without a safety net. When he gave up his congressional seat in 1970 in an unsuccessful bid for the Senate, Nixon made him U.N. Ambassador. Other appointments followed: the Republican National Committee in 1973. liaison to China in 1974 and director of the CIA in 1976. In fact, it was Dole who had to move aside as chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1973 to make room for Bush.

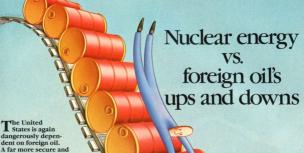
Even heroism came to the Vice President at less of a price. Bush received the Distinguished Flying Cross after being shot down during World War II. A harrowing experience to be sure, but he was

For the minority leader, life's stormy seas

Bush, he has a forceful personality, an appearance of calm that inspires confidence. Dole's sense of humor can be savage, sarcastic and sardonic. Sometimes, when he has it under control, he can direct it gently at himself. At other times it merges with his mean streak.

Dole's gregarious public persona does not have a private counterpart. Humor comes from the head, the ability to form attachments with people from the heart. Dole seems to trust no one entirely, least of all his staff. Staffers complain that he seldom takes their advice and they frequently do not know what he is doing. He fires aides abruptly and often.

One former aide describes Dole's management technique as peppering



reliable choice is electricity made in America from coal and nuclear energy. Because nuclear energy replaces foreign oil, it has become one of

foreign oil, it has become one of the major pillars of U.S. energy independence.

Going back to the great energy crises of the 1970s, the price of foreign oil has resembled a giant, dizzying roller coaster ride. The availability of foreign oil has also dropped down and shot back up. And we don't even control the roller coaster—others do.

Consider this ominous statistic in the first eight months of 1987, even at today's low prices, America had to pay over \$20 billion for foreign oil. That's a lot of dollars leaving this country, adding to an already huge trade deficit.

### Nuclear energy cuts oil imports

Clearly, the more energy we use in the form of electricity from coal and nuclear energy, the less oil we have to import.

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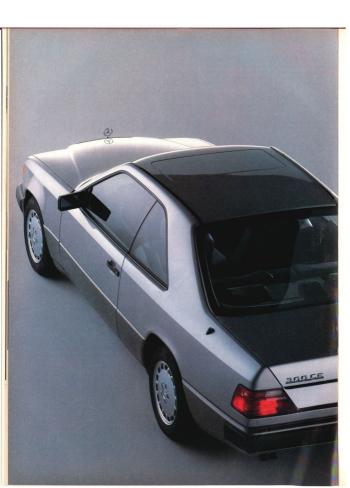
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The 300CE looks more like a single block of molten steel shaped by the flow of the wind than a man-made styling exercise. It is free of artifice—a statement of esthetic and aerodynamic

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### Nation

staffers with numerous questions until they cannot come up with a reasonable answer, then giving them a withering stare. He expects his staff to keep his own punishing 14-hour-ad-ya, six-day workweek. Building staff morale seems to be for sissies. Says another former aide: "You don't go to his house to have Thanksgiving dinner or watch footballing dinner or watch football."

ing dinner or watch football on television."

In contrast, Bush has solicit-

ed and taken advice from virtually the same team for seven years. He stays in touch with most of the politicos he's met and worked with. Unlike many politicians, Bush actually cultivates close personal friendships. He spends much time writing notes and making phone calls. He is, in a word, nice.

Dole's family seems to be an adjunct to his driving ambition.

He left his first wife one day without any explanation. His second marriage, to Elizabeth Hanford, a Democrat turned Republican from North Carolina who was serving as a member of the Federal Trade Commission, seems more like a merger. He is curiously distant from his only child Robin, a daughter from his first marriage; when he arrives at a podium, he will give his wife a kiss and his daughter a handshake. Dole and his second wife, who have no children, live in his former bachelor apartment at the Watergate. They rarely have time for dinner together, and when they do it tends to be a microwaved frozen meal

The tightly knit Bush family, on the other hand, is clearly a source of joy and strength to the Vice President. When the three generations gather at their summer home in Maine, they spill off the

veranda like an all-American tableau. Barbara Bush, mother of five, grandmother of ten, helpmate of 43 years, has the expectant look of a First Lady in training, holding the Nancy Reagan gaze before there was a Nancy Reagan gaze.

The only question that seemed to stump Dole on a recent Sunday talk show was what he did in his spare time. The Senator finally listed reading newspapers and magazines, and watching TV news shows. Almost as an afterthought, he added having dinner with his wife. When the Doles travel to their Florida apartment. they socialize little and participate in few activities other than tanning by themselves. When Bush and his wife go to Florida to visit their son, they see old friends and political leaders. Bush likes to pursue his hobbies, which tend to be of the upper-class sort, such as sailing boats and fishing with flies.



pier times: the two men confer in Washington in 1973

Dole charges, with some justification, that Bush tries to look decisive but that in his years as Vice President he has made only one real decision: to support Reagan on every issue. Dole, on the other hand, has been a forceful and decisive legislative activist, taking risks when necessary but also knowing when to compromise.

Dole's main challenge now, as it has been for years, its to keep his dark side under control. Aides joke about his demeanor. Playing off Dooneshury's conceit that George Bush has an invisible vivul itwin. Skippy, Dole staffers joke that their candidate has an invisible that their candidate has an invisible and the staff of the s

ers must have got a special lift, having made this sad man happy for a moment. Before the week was out, the happy twin had again disappeared.

Speaking at the University of New Hampshire, Dole humilared a student who was asking him about South African sanctions. There's also little sign that Dole can be gracious in defeat. As the sat watching those red-whiteand-blue hats piling up on the NBC delegate tote board last Tuesday night, he could not resist snapping at the Vice President for "lying."

Bush faces a far different challenge: overcoming the impression that he has never been truly tested, that he knows little about the earthy struggles of daily living and that he has been sheltered from life's hard knocks. Where Dole projects a

brooding quality. Bush sometimes exudes a disconcerting shallowness. He is almost stunningly incapable of expressing himself emotionally. Walking through Auschwiz last fall, he made jarring comments like "Boy, they were big on crematoriums, weren't they?"

But Bush's problem seems to be less a lack of feeling than a well-bred inability to effectively express it. In the latest version of his sturm speech, Bush says his failure to articulate his emotions does not mean he lacks deep passion. When it comes to family and friends, Bush's loyalties run deep. But in a broader sense his passions do seem to lack resonance, partly with Delfs. It is the problem of the properties of the with Delfs.

The campaign is not likely to become any less intense. For Dole at 64 and Bush

at 63, this may be the last chance to run for the office they so desperately want. Having overcome all the adversities life has thrown at him, Dole sees the presidency as one more challenge to conquer so as to make the pain go away. Bush, for his part, sees a President every time he looks in the mirror, and has ever since he was a schoolboy.

Campaigns, according to the civisis texts and good-government groups, are supposed to be about issues and ideas, ideology and vision. Focusing on personality and manner is trivial, Yet this year, the fight for the Republican nomination involves someting far more important than artificial differences on olimort fees or taxes. It is a struggle ment of the control of the

by David Beckwith and Alessandra Stanley/Manchester

### Dole: Mean or Tough?

When George Bush lashes out at Dan Rather or sarcastically addresses Pete du Pont as Pierre, he is lauded for beating the wimp rap, But when Bob Dole snarls or sneers, he is blasted for having a mean streak. Part of Dole's "dark side" problem is perception: people remember him as Gerald Ford's hatchet man during the 1976 elections. The moment that stands out occurred in a TV debate with Walter Mondale, when Dole categorized America's wars of the 20th century as "Democrat wars." Part of the problem is reality: while Bush is so painfully nice that he seems driven to prove the maxim about which type of guys finish last. Dole can be downright nasty. When he grumbled "Go back into your cave" to a New Hampshire heckler, his glower was frightening. But where meanness is a political liability, toughness is a prerequisite of leadership-and the line between the two is fine. Margaret Thatcher can be brusque with her Cabinet; Mikhail Gorbachev can be curt when questioned on human rights. Likewise, executives who must every day impose decisions know that it is impossible to be truly tough without sometimes seeming mean. Although Dole's dark side is one of his liabilities, it may be an inescapable flip side of the toughness that has made him an effective leader in the Senate.

### Nation

### A Bartered Nomination?

What could happen if no Democrat wins a majority

After two decades of disorder, the Democrats finally thought they had invented a system that would create an all-but-certain nominee after the 20 state

primaries on March 8, which will choose more than 30% of the convention delegates. Super Tuesday seemed perfect

for a bandwagon bonanza: the winner would roar out of the South with enough momentum to coast to the nomination. Finally, the party would anoint its standard-bearer early enough and end the intraparty bloodletting soon enough so that he might carry something other than his home state and the District of Columbia come November. No more byzantine delegate arithmetic, no more bitter fights to the California primary, just a front-loaded primary calendar designed to produce a nominee who would be, at last, up for the '80s.

What fools these mortals be when they try to tinker with the Democratic Party's natural affinity for chaos. Instead of providing clarity, the split verdicts from Iowa and New Hampshire have left four

strong Democrats in the race, each of whom can aspire to roughly one-quarter of the March 8 delegate harvest. Michael Dukakis, who scored a firm but not flashy 36% New Hampshire victory, heads into the unfamiliar terrain of Dixie as the leading white liberal in the race. Jesse

Jackson, of course, should corral almost all the black vote. By finishing second in New Hampshire, with 20%, Richard Gephardt demonstrated that his nativist trade policies and his fiery mock-populist rhetoric resonate with bluecollar voters across the geographic spectrum. And Albert Gore, the notready-for-Northern-climes candidate, must prove that his Southern endorsements and smart-set moderate appeal can translate into primary votes.

After New Hampshire, the Democratic contest remains a tangled wrangle. The current consensus of party professionals is that no candidate is likely to win a delegate majority before the primary and caucus season ends in June. But that does not necessarily mean a modernday version of a brokered convention, where a cabal of Democratic leaders finally gather under NO SMOKING signs to

It was a beguiling fantasy, award the nomination to Mario Cuomo. Far more probable is a bartered nomination. That shorthand phrase describes an open and public preconvention bargaining process in which the surviving candidates feverishly try to assemble a majority by negotiating with blocs of unpledged or loosely committed delegates. It

Runner-Up Gephardt: hot rhetoric from a cool candidate

His mock populism won him the blue-collar votes

is politics on the model of a Middle Eastern sug, where almost anything is possible if the price is right

Farfetched? With just 185 committed delegates selected by this week, it might seem implausible that insiders are already concocting deadlock scenarios. But the delegate arithmetic is as compelling as it is complex. Dust off the pocket calculator and hang on for the next two paragraphs. The climb may be a bit arduous, but the panoramic view of Democratic disarray is worth it. Remember, the goal is to win a 2.081-delegate majority.

By March 9, a total of 1,662 pledged delegates (40%) will have been chosen in 26 states and American Samoa. With a four-way split in the South and a beleaguered Paul Simon wanly vowing to straggle on, the leading contender is unlikely to have much more than 500 delegates. Soon to be up for grabs are 644 unpledged "superdelegates"-Senators, Congressmen, Governors and party officials. Even if

three-quarters of these mostly ex officio delegates eventually flock to the front runner, he will still be about 1,100 votes short of victory.

Under these projections, a winning candidate would have to sweep the roughly 1,850 delegates still to be awarded in the remaining primaries and caucuses after Super Tuesday. By then it is quite possible that the field will be narrowed to three serious contenders: most likely Dukakis, Jackson and the winner of the Gephardt-Gore grudge match. Even though he cannot be nominated under any conventional reckoning, Jackson would still drain off, say, 300 delegates. This Jesse factor creates an almost Olympian hurdle: the front runner would have to collect about 1,100-or more than twothirds-of the remaining 1,550 non-

Jackson delegates. But that threshold runs right up against the contrary nature of the Democratic electorate. Both Jimmy Carter in 1976 and Walter Mondale in 1984 lost rather than gained support in the late primaries, as voters almost recoiled against their presumptive nominations.

If no contender has won a majority by the time the last delegate chooses sides, it might seem that the fight would automatically go to a dramatic second ballot in At-

lanta. But party rules give rival campaigns free rein to barter and bargain for delegates, even those formally pledged to other candidates. All delegates can switch their allegiance at any time and vote their con-

science on the convention floor

These are the contours of a daunting Democratic deadlock. Dukakis, Gephardt and Gore would each bring distinct advantages to any end-game maneuvering. With \$4 million already in the bank, and having vaulted into the lead over the weak

Democratic field in a national TIME poll conducted last week. Dukakis is the only contender at present who is capable of waging a national campaign.

	Who is your first choice for President?
	AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PERSON

		Nation	of can	Impressions of candidates	
7	N:	ation/South	Jan.	Favorable	Unfavorable
	Dukakis				
	Jackson	18/21%			
	Gephardt	13/14%		43%	25%
	Hart	11/7%	28%	29%	
	Gore	8/18%		23%	
	Simon	6/5%	13%	31%	32%
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The 644 superdelegates are Gephardt's ace in the hole. "We've worked the congressional superdelegates very hard," says Campaign Manager Bill Carrick, "and we've also been very aggressive with [Democratic National Committee] members." Gore is banking on the widespread assumption that as a Southern moderate. he would be the party's strongest contender in November. But that reputation can only be sustained by a decisive victory over Gephardt in the South.

Would-be power brokers, especially former Party Chairman Robert Strauss, have for months been eagerly theorizing about a looming stalemate, and presumably fantasizing about their own behindthe-scenes roles. Some of this speculation is merely a reflection of Mario-mania, even though Cuomo dismisses a convention-draft movement as "silly talk." But there is a subtext of dissatisfaction with the apparent weakness of the leading contenders. "This is by far the best chance we've had since 1976," says Democratic Campaign Consultant Mark Siegel. "We should be running our best people, and I'm afraid we're not

Active candidates rather than covly reticent refuseniks are the most likely beneficiaries of any postprimary swap meet. The logic is that the contenders will have squandered far too much treasure and blood to step aside obediently for a Cuomo, Bill Bradley or Sam Nunn. With party bosses an archaic relic of the past and with Democrats suspicious of almost all forms of authority, only the candidates themselves will have large numbers of delegates with which to negotiate. After Simon's crippling third-place finish in New Hampshire, that calculation remains his only possible rationale for clinging to the race. If the verdict from



After a firm but not flashy New Hampshire victory, Dukakis must prove he can whistle Dixie With \$4 million in the bank, he is the only Democrat capable of a national campaign.

Super Tuesday is not clear, argues Paul | grabbing the last seat on the victory ex-Maslin, the candidate's pollster, "then people may think that a vote for Simon is a vote to keep the process open.

How might a bartered nomination actually be secured? No one should have the temerity to predict the details of the Democratic race four months from now, but

several scenarios seem the most plausible. The Last Train from Paris. This is perhaps the oldest gambit in the political playbook. When Mondale found himself some 40 delegates shy of the nomination the morning after the California primary, he adroitly worked the phones to secure enough delegate commitments to put him over the top. Few politicians can resist press, especially when there is the hope of a reward for their last-minute conversion. At the moment, Dukakis seems best positioned to take advantage of this allaboard argument.

The Jackson Fraction. There is no more likely Democratic kingmaker than the party's tribune for the poor and the dispossessed. With the potential to win nearly 1,000 delegates, Jackson could be in a position to anoint almost any candidate as the nominee. True, some of his most prominent supporters, such as Campaign Co-Chairman Willie Brown, may be playing their own games. But more than most candidates, Jackson is likely to hold the allegiance of his delegates. Small wonder that his rivals treat him with extreme deference, and each seems secretly to hope he can barter for Jackson's support. Gore is convinced that he has developed a unique rapport with Jackson. Gephardt talks about naming him to lead an antidrug crusade or serve as a troubleshooting foreign envoy

The Dream Ticket. The vice-presidential nomination remains a potent bargaining chip, tarnished though the prize sometimes seems. Marriages of convenience among the candidates have an obvious logic. But if a contender were just shy of nomination, he might use the job to secure the support of a key Governor like James Blanchard of Michigan.

This shadow of uncertainty hovers over the Democrats. New Hampshire decided almost nothing, save for protecting Dukakis from Simon in the scattered liberal bastions of the South. As long as the race remains Balkanized, speculation about a bartered nomination-or even a brokered convention-will continue to undercut the leading contenders. That seems the price the Democrats must pay for too many candidates and too little popularity. - By Walter Shapiro. Reported by Michael Duffy and Steven Holmes/Manchester

### Gore's New Ball Game

W hile flying to Houston on the afternoon of the New Hampshire primary, Al Gore phoned his campaign manager, Fred Martin, and got word that Paul Simon seemed to be capturing the second spot, behind Michael Dukakis. The Tennessee Senator could not suppress a smile: Super Tuesday might in fact herald the "new ball game" he had been predicting. But Gore wasn't smiling when he talked to Martin later. Richard Gephardt was scoring a solid second, undermining Gore's risky gambit of skirting the early contests. Instead of facing two liberal Yankees on Super Tuesday, Gore must now jump-start against a Border State moderate with Southern appeal, "Gephardt has an anti-foreign, anti-Establishment pitch-a send-'em-a-message message," says Political Consultant

Carter Eskew, a friend of Gore's. "That and the populism of resentment are likely to do well in a part of the country that gave birth to Huev Long and George Wallace.

tacking Gephardt. And thus the new ball game began.

A shared desire to keep Gephardt down had led to an alliance between Gore and Simon in New Hampshire, with their lieutenants trading intelligence. Gore had not-sosecret hopes of pulling off a surprise: he campaigned 42 days and spent \$400,000 there, about the same as the front runners. But he was unable to beat even Jesse Jackson. Among the last calls he made Tuesday night were one to Martin and one to Albert Gore Sr., his father-mentor. The two men agreed: it was time for the candidate to start explicitly at-

On the offensive

### Nation

### The Man Who Seals Off Emotion

Can Dukakis make the personal connections Americans crave?



As he prepared himself one | year ago for the opening speech of his presidential campaign, Michael Dukakis was exasperated. In the Boston video studio, his handlers pushed

at him. "Let some feeling out, Michael, please," the speech coach urged. Deliberately, the candidate read on. After a while the coach tried a different approach. "Get mad," she said. "Can't you get mad?" Finally Dukakis had had enough. The voters, he declared, would have to take him as

he is. "Look, I'm not Mario, he said defensively, referring to New York's demonstrative Governor Cuomo. "This just isn't me.'

Dukakis has learned well how to bury his feelings. In early campaigns his manager, Francis Meaney, used to stand close behind him and remind Dukakis to tell voters he needed them. The candidate was always too impersonal. Even with longtime friends. Dukakis has kept up his guard. They have to be satisfied with the little he gives. "The electrons," says a friend of 25 years, "flow only one way." The most personal kind of event, like the suicide attempt years ago of his older brother, is stowed so deeply that Dukakis says he cannot remember what happened.

Today, after a year of meeting voters outside Massachusetts, Dukakis has shown a bit more of himself. He speaks more willingly of his proud Greek parents. His

new wool sweaters and lavender ties make him seem a little less prim. But he remains a politician without intensity. Attempts to enrich the message cannot overcome the candidate's zeal for programmed solutions.

His winning chemistry with Massachusetts voters stems from a confidence in his intelligence and personal integrity. He has drawn top people into government. A Massachusetts politician who dislikes Dukakis acutely, says he has never in his 40 years seen a leader with a more solid moral base.

Sitting in his statehouse last week, the afternoon of the New Hampshire primary, Dukakis followed the early returns that showed him winning by 20 points The Governor's pleasure was evident but utterly under control. In shirtsleeves. leaning back in his swivel chair. Dukakis looked fit, his face unlined, a touch of red in his cheeks. Senator Ted Kennedy called to congratulate him. Dukakis told Kennedy he hoped his nephew Congressman Joe Kennedy Jr., of whom he is fond. would campaign for him in South Dakota. Then former Kentucky Governor Martha Lavne Collins was waiting to talk to him. She would endorse him the next day

Dukakis does not develop easy relationships with fellow politicians. Last fall several Governors told Dukakis they considered him the most able of the Democratic candidates. When he pressed them for endorsements, they made excuses and backed away. They admired Dukakis, but

At work in the statehouse: "The electrons flow only one way" Under the metallic surface, a mind like a heat-seeking missile.

together they decided he was too hard to | get close to. They wondered whether in a showdown, his politician's instincts would be the same as theirs.

His extraordinary self-reliance is what causes Dukakis to hold himself distant. Would he be able, as President, to give up some of that distance and reach out and grab what he will really need from other people? Is there something beneath that metallic surface to persuade others that at heart his instincts are generous and truly humane? Can Dukakis, a man who seals off his emotional responses, establish an emotional connection that moves the country's

Even alone with his staff, the Governor is a tight presence. Aides say his mind is like a heat-seeking missile. Dukakis immediately identifies weak spots in arguments. He interrupts with answers sometimes before questions are even completed. "Next," the Governor will declare, and the discussion moves on.

Though his impatience usually shows, Dukakis never bullies listeners. He is thoroughly unpretentious and not comfortable with undue deference. Around the statehouse. Dukakis is widely addressed by his first name.

Profoundly conservative in his personal life. Dukakis has certain policy prejudices that show up mostly on social issues. He does not easily take advice on things he is opposed to, such as state-provided needles for drug users and programs that allow gay foster parents. His ideology is mixed: Dukakis is a strong believer in government intervention in areas like education, crime and welfare.

Gossip does not draw Dukakis. Staffers do not bother to pass along political nuggets because they know the Governor

> details of briefing papers. He is indifferent to movies. When friends last year urged him to watch a couple of highly praised films, Platoon and Hoosiers (they believed exposure to the Midwestern flavor of the latter might serve him well in the Iowa caucuses) no one was surprised that Dukakis returned the videocassettes unviewed. Recently staffers on the road arranged for him to see Moonstruck, a new film star-

has little interest. He reads

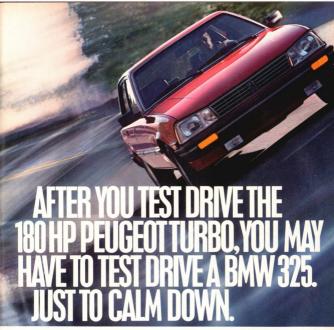
few books but consumes the

ring an actress cousin he likes, Olympia Dukakis, but he decided not to. Dukakis prefers sports or the Boston Pops. Entertaining at home, he is unable merely to sit and chat. If the conversation slows, he will excuse himself from friends to do a little night jogging or work on some required reading. His front-vard garden of tomatoes, cucumbers and onions has its own mission. Points

out the avid gardener: "There are enough

salads here for a whole year. He is obedient to routine. Dukakis sleeps from midnight to 5:30. Only occasionally does he take a glass of white wine. For years union leaders at Labor Day picnics pressured him to stand holding a glass of beer in his hand, but the Governor declined. Aides do not smoke around him. Language is mostly cleaned up in deference to his sense of propriety. There is only small comic relief around Dukakis. He has little sense of irony, and his jokes are as forced in private as on the stump. Says a Dukakis Cabinet officer: "Don't get the idea we hang around Michael. He's not that interesting." But colleagues are exceedingly loyal. They are drawn by his smartness and strong ethical core. He goes out of his way to share credit publicly.

The person Dukakis does confide in is his wife Kitty, who has her own office in the



### PRESENTING THE PEUGEOT 180HP TURBO S.

The legendary BMW 325. By many car enthusiasts it's regarded as the most exhilorating performance sedan you can drive today. But were you to spend a few minutes on a test track behind the wheel of the new Peugeot Turbo S, you might well be convinced that

the legend is riding on its reputation.

with a fully-integrated, further-harged engine that develops 180 hp and 205 lbs./ft. of forque, the Peugeal Turbo S would racket you from a standing start to a speed of 60 mph in a heart-pounding 79 seconds. Prinning you to your infinitely-adjustable, orthopedically-designed bucket seat in the process. The less muscular 121 hp 325 would require a full 10 seconds to accomplish the same task.

Next, the Turbo S would whisk you through the quarter mile in just 16.3 seconds while the 325 would need more than another second to get you across the finish line.

Of course a car that puts this kind of power at your disposal (even

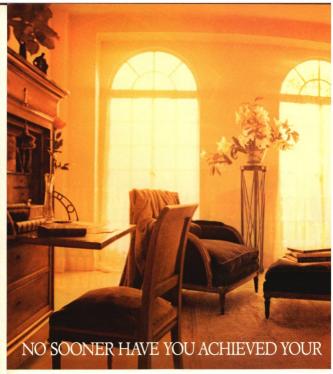
the sound system features 12 speakers and 200 watts of power) would be irresponsible unless it were designed to give you complete control over it. That's why the Peugeel Turbo S is equipped with fully independent suspension, precise electronically controlled, variable-assist power steering and, of course, computerized ABS braking.

The 505 Turbo S offers you a 5-year/50,000-mile power-train limited warranty and arguebly the best roadside assistance plan available: AAA\* So why not call 1-800-447-2882 for the name of the Peugeal dealer nearest you, and arrange for a test drive. And if you emerge from it of limit bot excited, you know what to do.

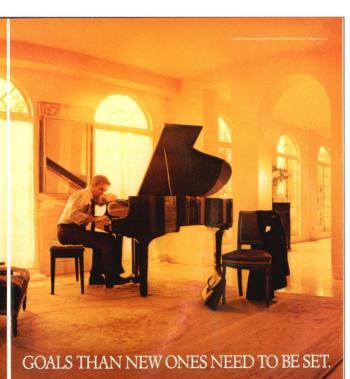
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Every day, the average jet engine is under as much stress as any ten CEOs. And after a series of long business trips, it just may begin to show signs of fatigue. Obviously, 61/2 miles up

Obviously, 61/2 miles up in the air is no place to start looking under the hood.
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Until they put service stations in the sky, Olympus fiberscopes are the best assurance you have of finding engine trouble where it should be found.

On the ground.



statehouse. But because she has a tendency to talk too freely, Dukakis sometimes withholds information from her. An intelligent woman, she shows occasional signs of insecurity. She has been known to toss her influence around the statehouse, hassling staff and even bursting into Cabinet meetings with questions of her own. Dukakis never displays a flicker of annoyance. He is too much the gentleman to rebuke her openly. Friends say he cares deeply about Kitty and draws strength from her. She needed his support last year when she revealed a longtime addiction to diet pills. The two are remarkably different: she is as open and emotional as he is reserved. Kitty revels, for example, in the Hollywood glitter that has sprung up around her husband's cam-

paign. He pays little attention Dukakis' keenness of mind and sureness of what is right sometimes lead him into rigidity: he is able, even in the face of con trary logic, to convince himself that his position is correct. Occasionally he displays a moralistic streak. At such moments the process of seeking more information shuts down, and no amount of argument will budge him. A friend and early political ally, former

State Senator Beryl Cohen, remembers a pact he made with Dukakis in 1969; Cohen would run for Lieutenant Governor and Dukakis for attorney general. Unexpectedly, a top Democrat later decided to run for attorney general. Dukakis was crushed. The next night, around 10 o'clock, he showed up at Cohen's front door. Dukakis had decided, he told his friend, to run for Lieutenant Governor himself. Cohen lis-

tened, shocked. "There wasn't a bit of remorse," recalls Cohen. "Michael had convinced himself it was right." Cohen later withdrew, and Dukakis got the nomination but lost the election.

When he was 17 and still in high school. Dukakis experienced a tragedy in his familv. His brother Stelian, older by three years and then in college, had a mental breakdown. He later attempted suicide and was under psychiatric care for years. It was an unbearable experience for the industrious Dukakis family, and especially for Michael, who looked up to his brother. Stelian had trouble accepting his brother's success, among other things In 1964, when Dukakis ran for the state legislature, Stelian stuffed hundreds of leaflets in mailboxes around their hometown of Brookline warning voters to reject his brother. Horrified Dukakis aides fanned out and recovered most of the pamphlets.

Years later, in 1973, Stelian was struck by a car while riding a bicycle, and died within a few months. A family friend believes the episode had a shaping effect on the way Michael internalizes his true feelings. "If you shook Michael to see what makes him tick, the one rusty key to drop out would be Stelian. He would never talk to us about it.'

Dukakis has always displayed enormous emotional stamina. He was shat-



With wife Kitty: his only real confidente

tered by his gubernatorial defeat in 1978. but slowly put himself back together. He cannot be intimidated. Legislators sometimes storm into his office to challenge him, but he stays dead calm. One day a house leader, furious that Dukakis opposed certain legislation, suddenly began kicking at chairs and flicking cigar ashes on the Governor's desk. Dukakis, arms folded, sat and stared at him. His refusal to compromise became a trademark in the legislature. Remembers a resentful senate leader: "He always wanted 100%.

Public rows, on the other hand, inhibit Dukakis. He prefers to work things out behind the scenes. Dukakis is not a bold politician. When colleagues pressed the Governor in 1986 to rally the public behind his compulsory seat-belt law, he balked. When attacked publicly, howev-

er, Dukakis is a dangerous opponent. Last summer staffers pressed him repeatedly to challenge Richard Gephardt's trade policies. Typically, Dukakis held back. But when Gephardt openly started to criticize him, Dukakis drew the Congressman into a debate and cut him up.

Dukakis can handle pelitical heat when he has to. Last summer leaders of national Jewish organizations traveled to Boston to size up the Governor. It was an important meeting for Dukakis, whose wife is Jewish and used to serve as co-chair of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. Jewish support in a presidential election is a formidable resource, and Dukakis-if he can show himself electable-is a fa-

vorite candidate. The Jewish leaders questioned Dukakis on topics like arms sales to Arabs. Dukakis, though he didn't say much, told them what they wanted to hear. What did he think of Mikhail Gorbachev? they wanted to know. Dukakis praised Gorbachev, and that troubled Jewish leaders. They returned to New York and reported that Dukakis seemed soft on the Soviet leader. Back in his office. Dukakis prepared

> for his victorious return to New Hampshire. He started to criticize one of his opponents, Al Gore, but caught himself before saving too much. He rarely lets slip remarks that might make him politically vulnerable. The effect of his 1978 defeat, Dukakis said, could not be overestimated. "I listen better now," he said. "I'm a better

person now." Maybe in his continuing self-appraisal, Dukakis is ready to open himself further. In Iowa and New Hampshire, he presented himself almost purely as a man whose record was what counted. Now, as he reaches toward the rest of the country, he will have to persuade that great electorate of something more: that his clipped and controlled exterior is only a mask that conceals a more expansive and adventurous and caring self. Americans crave that kind of connection with the person of the President. - By Robert Ajemian

### Dukakis: Innocent Abroad

When a reporter in Atlanta last week asked Dukakis to specify under what circumstances he would use military force, the normally surefooted Governor floundered a moment like a prize pupil caught unprepared. Finally he came up with a case: John Kennedy's threat during the Cuban missile crisis. Oh, and against terrorist installations, he added. Two cases, both easy, one 25 years old. Protested Dukakis: "I don't think any President can write a book on the subject of when you'd use military force."

His unfamiliarity with even book learning on national-security issues will be Dukakis' soft underbelly-especially in the South, where his instinctive tendency to latch onto the most dovish stances does not play as well as in lowa. So on a swing through the South last week, he used the word strength so often that he earned the nickname "Field Marshal Dukakis." But his policies are not only mushy, they seem downright unsophisticated. He bases his opposition to even humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan contras on his reading of "international law" rather than on calculations about U.S. interests. He reflexively opposes new strategic weapons systems. He has had to wiggle off campaign pronouncements about the pullout of U.S. forces from Korea. In Thursday's debate, Al Gore launched the first of what will be many strategic attacks, accusing Dukakis of saving he would tolerate a Soviet client state in Central America. Dukakis, who has danced inelegantly around that point in the past, denied it. He also proclaimed that on national security, "I'm not squishy soft." His challenge before Super Tuesday is to make that claim convincing.

### Nation

### **Accentuating the Negative**

Viewers, beware: campaign commercials can be nasty



It wasn't pretty. The challenger's advertising vilified the Vice President as a feckless aristocrat while touting himself as a man of the people. The Vice President's campaign was

quick to retaliate, depicting his opponent as a reckless enemy of the Constitution. The riposte must have worked, because the Vice President edged out his rival in the voting

John Adams' victory over Thomas Jefferson in the presidential election of 1796 might not have been due to Adams' strident handbills, but it gave birth to a tradition in American politics that still flourishes: accentuating the negative. The

which Dole claimed that he had shown leadership-Social Security, INF, tax cuts-and then said in a stentorian voice. 'George Bush had nothing to do with it.' Each time, Bush's image faded a little more, until it finally vanished.

With only three days of campaigning left in New Hampshire, tracking polls showed Bush trailing Dole by as much as 9 points. Roger Ailes, Bush's media consultant, advocated the use of negative ads to derail Dole. Bush hesitated. But on Saturday morning he agreed to run the ad some dubbed the "Two Faces of Dole." Over head shots of Bush and Dole, an announcer praised Bush's leadership on various questions, then deover Simon diminishing to almost zero. Gephardt swiftly retaliated. His ads were minimalist: all words, white on a black background, ending with a small picture of Gephardt's face. The ad fired from both barrels, accusing Simon of distorting Gephardt's record on Social Security and describing Michael Dukakis as "one of the biggest tax raisers in Massachusetts history." Between Saturday and Tuesday, Gephardt's slide stopped.

Long before last week, political consultants concluded that negative ads often have more impact than positive ones. The negative ads in many 1986 Senate races were critical failures but ballot-box successes. According to Democratic Pollster Mark Mellman, studies show that people process negative information more thoroughly than positive statements. Media Consultant Robert Squier sees the New Hampshire ads as part of a general trend toward what could be called infomercials.



DIFFERENCE?

TAXES He can't say no.

Bush knocking Dole on taxes **Dole belittling Bush on leadership** Despite some backlash and barbs from critics, the venerable attack ads have one alluring quality for candidates: they usually work.

rule is: when in doubt, attack; when attacked, counterattack. History will show that in New Hampshire last week a Vice President's hard-hitting, negative television ads in response to an insurgent Senator's first strike pushed the Vice President to victory. On the Democratic side, two rivals strafed each other over the airwaves and basically reached a draw

Although negative political ads are as old as the Republic, commentators still cluck with disapproval each time the ads reappear, while candidates employ euphemisms to avoid using the N word. Television has made the strategy riskier. Because of the medium's power and unpredictable effects, candidates have been reluctant to use the small screen for political sallies. But the flurry of so-called comparative ads during last week's primary showed that restraint has been cast aside. The tone and character of much of the TV advertising for the rest of the primaries may be tough, accusatory, even mean.

In New Hampshire, it was Dole, not Bush, who launched the first strike. Several days after Iowa, the Dole campaign aired a slick, well-made ad featuring joint head shots of the Senator and the Vice President. The announcer listed areas in clared that Dole had "straddled" the issues

The ads were ready to go Saturday afternoon, But the state's only commercial VHF station, Channel 9, had closed for the weekend. New Hampshire Governor John Sununu, a Bush supporter, drove to Manchester to meet with the station manager, his friend: within hours Bush's ads were flickering across TV screens. From Saturday afternoon until the polls closed, the ad ran more than 40 times in the state. It was too late for Dole to come up with a reply.

Bush's ad looked amateurish, but it had bite because it speared Dole where he was most vulnerable: taxes, "George Bush won't raise taxes, period," the ad said. "Bob Dole straddled, and he just won't promise not to raise taxes. And you know what that means." The commercial cost Dole votes in the taxophobic state

Less than 24 hours after Dick Gephardt arrived in New Hampshire, Paul Simon's negative ads were on the air. They were designed to act as a video karate chop to the Iowa victor's momentum. Again, there were simple side-by-side head shots of the candidates followed by a slanted comparison of voting records. Gephardt's tracking polls showed his lead



Simon suggesting Gephardt is shifty

"Any information," he says, "will be voraciously consumed by the voter.'

There are drawbacks. Negative ads can muddy a perpetrator's positive image. Such ads can repel as easily as they entice, driving away voters they were meant to attract. Dueling commercials between two candidates, says Mellman, can propel voters into the arms of a third. Negative ads during a primary, Squier notes, are dicier than similar ads during the general election; sniping at party comrades is nev-

er an ennobling sight. Positive ads work best when the candidate is already clearly defined; Reagan's gauzy, uplifting commercials in 1984 only reinforced what millions already perceived about the fellow in the White House. But in the Democratic race, where voters still have trouble telling most of the candidates apart, it is sometimes more effective to define a candidate by tearing a rival down. With Dole and Bush, their very familiarity may breed not contempt but indifference What better way to distinguish oneself than to take the other fellow down a peg or two? In the end, any real debate can get By Richard Stengel. lost in the static. Reported by Michael Duffy and David Backwith/Manchastar

#### On the Grapevine



Avoiding combat. For Pat Robertson. March 8 marks not only Super Tuesday but also the date his libel suit against Pete Mc-Closkey is scheduled to go to trial. Robertson is suing McCloskey for claiming that he sought help from his father Senator A. Willis Robertson to avoid combat duty in Korea. A review of evidence collected by McCloskey's lawyers reveals that Robertson may be in for a blitzkrieg of bad publicity. Several fellow Marine officers corroborate McCloskey's claim, and a letter from Robertson's father to Marine General Lemuel Shepherd expresses his pleasure that Pat "will get more training before engaging in combat duty in Korea." If the suit is



settled before trial, Robertson may have to pay McCloskey's legal fees.

Limited partner. Bob Dole likes to joke that he opposes a Dole-Dole ticket because "I don't want to be Vice President." But when asked what Elizabeth would do as First Lady, he describes a more traditional role, like championing the cause of "abused children." Such presumption ran-

kles Mrs. Dole, who says she would explore the "universe of options." The message: she will decide.



Hang in there, Just you wait, Bob Paul-or else. Af-

ter finishing third in New Hampshire, Paul Simon announced that he would bow out of the race unless he won either Minnesota or South Dakota. The following day, however, he said he would stay in at least until after his home state's primary on March 15. Behind the flip-flop was some arm twisting by Illinois supporters. State Democratic Chairman

Vince Demuzio collared Simon at Chicago's Midway Airport last week. "I told him I almost cut off my nose shaving when I read what he had said," says Demuzio. Illinois House Speak-

Illinois or bust

er Mike Madigan groused about being left "high and dry and hinted that Simon's Senate re-election chances might be hurt if he abandoned the race early.

Advice from the sidelines. As the contest between Bush and Dole turned nasty, Mario Cuomo told Democratic National Chairman Paul Kirk: "Tell your candidates to go out on the stage and stand there holding hands and humming The Star-Spangled Banner. Hum it-don't sing it, because then they would have to open their lips.'

Personal shots. Last week Gephardt Campaign Manager William Carrick apologized to Al Gore and Fred Martin, Gore's campaign manager, for calling them "bastards" in a Washington Post interview. The bad blood dates back to Gore's December win in the South Carolina straw poll. To hype the victory, the Gore camp issued a press release declaring that Carrick had personally led the Gephardt effort in the state. In fact, Carrick had returned twice to his native South Carolina, but only to visit his ailing mother

What's an actress to do? Poor Morgan Fairchild. The sultry TV star can't make up her mind. A delegate to the California State Democratic Convention. she has questioned all the candidates save one, but has yet to make an endorsement. "It's like going to a dance and waiting for that look across the room that says, 'This is it.'" Apparently, the feeling is mutual. "I met Gary Hart many times, and he never made a pass at me. I feel like chopped liver.'



Fairchild: perhaps she should try a Republican

### **The Electability Test**

In TIME's new poll, Dole passes, others flunk



consume nominating politics. This year four candidates are nonetheless relying on the E word as a big part of their pitch, arguing that they can make it in November by reaching beyond their core supporters. A TIME poll taken last week by Ankelovich Clancy Shulman demonstrates that Bob Dole has the strongest claim to ecumenical appeal; Pat Robertson, Al Gore and Paul Simon have the least.

Dole's pragmatism and his knack for conveying grity independence make the Senate Republican leader more appealing than his rivals to the opposition party. Among registered Democrats, 39% say they would consider voting for Dole. For George Bush, the figure is 26%, and for Plat Robertson only 14%. Similarly, when strongest Republican candidate would be, 31% name Dole and 39% Bush.

Though the survey was taken just after the New Hampshire primary, when Dole received bad reviews for his harsh comments about Bush, the public seems to have paid little attention to that part of the media buzz. When all registered voters are asked whether they consider either Bush or Dole "too quick-tempered to be President, 43% say neither, 15% name Bush and 12% Dole. Though Bush had just received a snowstorm of favorable publicity for winning New Hampshire, his lead over Dole among likely Republican voters shrank from 25 points in January to 18 points last week. Dole, however, still faces serious obstacles. Bush's advantage over Dole is greatest in the South (53% vs. 23%), where the next major round will be fought.

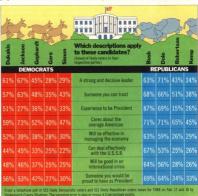
Robertson, the former televangelist, might be doing. Dole a service by eating into Bush's Southern strength. But though the South is Robertson's strongest geographical base, he draws only 15% of Bitkey Republican voters there in TIME's poll. He also attracts wall-to-wall hostility. When registered voters from both parties are asked which candidates "would you definitely not vote for," Robertson tops the list with 72%. Only 17% say they would consider casting a ballot for him.

A charismatic Christian who uses forent congregations as political beachheads, just as Jesses Jackson employs blackchurches, Robertson nonetheless has failed to unit even his own religious famthemselves as Evangelical or Fundamentalist Christians divide 44% for Bash, 30% for Deland and J14% for Robertson. Jackson attracts overwhelming support from black, churchly and secular, because his Moralism dominates Robertson's pitch. Moralism dominates Robertson's pitch, we went though the now worlds mentioning his

long membership in the Baptist ministry. Despite that ostentatious omission, Robertson cannot get far from the pulpit in the public's mind. Even Fundamentalists of the public of the public ship and the public with the control of the public of the public

frustrating. He got no boost at all from his respectable showings in Iowa and New Hampshire. Voters apparently have wearied of his bland image and vague proposals. In Gore's case, his stiff posture as the argumentative aginner in Democratic debates may be grating on the electorate.

The two Democrats who have gained most are Michael Dukakis and Richard Gephardt, propelled by respective victories in New Hampshire and Iowa. Dukakis, fourth among likely Democratic voters in last month's TIME poll, reached the top of the list for the first time in a national survey. Gephardt rose from sixth place to third. Both fared relatively well



great talent for squeezing the maximum turnout from his pool of sympathizers. Robertson also hopes to attract socially conservative Democrats who think all their national candidates are too liberal.

For Simon, the results are cruelly

on electability measurements. But before any Democrat starts humming Hail to the Chief, he should take note of the indecisiveness afflicting Democratic voters. Only one-third of them say they are certain about their present preferences. More than half say they are 'only somewhat satisfied' or "not satisfied at all" with the current roster of candidates.

Republicans, meanwhile, are hardening their choices. Nearly half now say they are certain about their picks, vs. 29% in January, The difference is a function of statlandary, The difference is a function of statversully known in their party and enjoy reputations as national figures. The Democratic candidates, perched lower on the political
ladder, must still prove they are eligible to 
climb. Until they do, the rank and rile wire 
rather than concrete. — By Lawrock Barrett 
rather than concrete. — By Lawrock Barrett

#### American Notes







TV MINISTRY Swaggart sermonizing last week

CALIFORNIA Police help ESL employees escape

#### JUDICIARY

#### Meese's Friend In New Trouble

In the summer of 1981, California State Judge Eugene Lynch asked San Francisco Attorney E. Robert Wallach to talk to his good friend Edwin Meese, then White House Counsellor, about helping the judge get an appointment to the federal bench. Wallach says it was "likely" that he did so. At a hearing on Sept. 17 of that year, Lynch orally approved a payment of \$1 million to Wallach's law firm as its part of a \$1.74 million out-ofcourt settlement won by the firm for two girls who had been badly burned in a tent fire. The following January Lynch was chosen to become a federal district judge

While those facts, reported last week by the San Francisco Chronicle, were not denied, Lynch insisted that there was no connection between his promotion and Wallach's generous award. Lynch said he had not approved the fee in writing and had referred the matter in December to another judge. After the father of one of the girls objected to paying the lawyers 57% of the award (25% is normal in such cases), the second judge in 1982 reduced their fee to \$322,000. The California state bar is reportedly investigating Wallach's firm for seeking the high payment. The office of Independent Counsel James Mc-

Kay said it was examining the Lynch appointment as part of its ongoing investigation of Attorney General Meese.

CALIFORNIA

#### Another Fatal Attraction For nearly four years Richard

Farley, 39, a computer software technician in California's Silicon Valley, had failed to win the affection of Laura Black, 26, a fellow worker at ESL, an electronics firm in Sunnyvale. But he got her involuntary attention by following and harassing her. In 1986 he reportedly was fired from the company after threatening to kill her. Three weeks ago, Black asked a court to order him to stay away from her, and a temporary injunction was granted. Said Black in her complaint: "I have been afraid of what this man might do to me if I filed this action.

week, police said, Farley, carrving a rifle, two shotguns and four handguns, blasted his way through a locked door at ESL. He fired furiously at employees, killing seven and injuring four others, before surrendering to a police SWAT team. Black was seriously wounded The next day Family Court Commissioner Lois Kittle symbolically made the injunction permanent, while explaining through tears, "Pieces of paper do not stop bullets."

With good reason. Last

THE PRESIDENCY

#### Camelot's Seamy Side

When a 1975 Senate report on the CIA's assassination attempts on Cuban Premier Fidel Castro cited an unnamed woman as a "close friend" of John F. Kennedy as well as of Mafia Chieftains Sam Giancana and Johnny Roselli, Judith Campbell Exper held a press conference in which she denied knowledge of any link between the slain President and the two mobsters

This week, however, in a PEOPLE magazine story written by Celebrity Biographer Kitty Kelley (His Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra). Exner claims that during 18 months in 1960 and 1961 she carried envelopes between Kennedy and Giancana, who was then the head of the Chicago Mafia. Exner, 54. claims that she arranged some ten meetings between Kennedy and Giancana, one of which, she speculates, was an attempt to win votes for J.F.K. in the 1960 West Virginia presidential primary. Exner suggests that Kennedy's later dealings with Giancana may have concerned the CIA's collaboration with the Mafia to kill Castro. Why has Exner, who says she has terminal cancer, come forward now with fresh details? "I want to put my life in order so that I can die peacefully," she explains.

TV MINISTRY

#### **Preachers Who Cast Stones**

"You cannot cover sin. It has to be exposed." That was the stern view of the Rev. Jimmy Swaggart last March as he pushed for full disclosure of the adultery and alleged homosexual activities of TV Evangelist Jim Bakker. Swaggart, an emotional, tear-ierking performer whose TV ministry takes in an estimated \$140 million a year, called Bakker's behavior a "cancer that needed to be excised.

Last week it was Swaggart's behavior that came under scrutiny by the Assemblies of God, the same evangelical church that excised Bakker from its ministry. After grilling Swaggart, the group's officials an-nounced that "his credentials with the church" were under review. One person who has seen the pictures troubling the church said they include a photograph of Swaggart and a prostitute outside a motel. ABC-TV reported that the allegations had been made by the Rev. Marvin Gorman, yet another televangelist who was defrocked by the Assemblies of God in 1986 for what one church official called "immorality." On Sunday, Swaggart announced he was stepping down from his ministry for an indeterminate period and admitted that he had "sinned grievously."

### World

MIDDLE EAST

## **Land for Peace?**

Shultz wings in as a familiar debate rages

I George Shultz ever had any stomach for Middle East diplomacy, he has long since lost it. He has come to deplore the region's treacherous politics and brutal methods. In 1982 he was the helf architect of a peace plan that died dismaltly, underscoring for him the futility ordel-intentioned initiatives in a conflict poisoned by four decades of harred and matrixes. In 1983 the death, of 28 Levis methods are considered in the design of the control of the

Yet here he is, flying back to the Middle East this week to launch a new round of peace talks on behalf of a President with less than a year left in power. Shultz's mission is prompted less by dreams of an eleventh-hour diplomatic triumph than by a desperate need to halt the blood yeycle of Palestinian riots and Israeli reprisals that crupted last December in the occupied West Bank and Gaya Strael.

The continuing violence, which has left at least 59 Palestinians dead and hundreds more wounded by Israeli shootings and beatings, has fueled a burning sense of urgency about easing if not solving the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has become increasingly clear that efforts to end the unrest will probably be futile unless a negotiating process leading to some form of Palestinian self-rule is started. But the latest U.S. initiative aimed at achieving that goal is stirring political turmoil in Israel. That domestic struggle could render the Jewish state incapable of engaging in serious diplomacy at the very moment when compromise may be essential.

At the heart of the debate is the principle of "land for peace," according to which Israel would agree to make territorial concessions in the Arab regions it has occupied since 1967 in return for the establishment of peaceful relations with the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza as well as with neighboring Jordan. Shultz regards such a trade-off as absolutely essential to any progress in the Middle East conflict. But the Israeli leadership is bitterly divided over the issue. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who is head of the Labor Party, is amenable to the principle. But Peres' partner in Israel's national unity government, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, is opposed to any territorial concessions. Said Shamir of the land-forpeace idea: "You can't conduct negotiations and [can] certainly not achieve peace by announcing every day that you're ready to accept everything."

The increasingly bitter sniping between the two top Cabinet officials led some Shamir aides to hint that the Prime Minister was considering sacking Peres. But such a move would probably force the next election, now scheduled for November, to be held much earlier. Shamir is repeated to the property of the property of

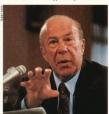
No matter when the next election nes, the campaign has already begun. The central issue: Israeli policies in the occupied territories. Israel's friends abroad are hoping the debate will provide an opening for new ideas in dealing with the Palestinian crisis. Yet just the reverse seems probable. Despite the waves of foreign criticism over the country's harsh methods of handling the unrest, the domestic political benefits seem more likely to fall to the hard-lining Likud than the more moderate Labor Party. A poll published last week by the Tel Aviv daily Ma'ariv indicated that 64% of the sample favored either the current policy or an even more stringent one and only 19% favored withdrawal from the territories

In addition to conferring with Israel's divided political leaders, Shultz will travel to Jordan. Egypt and possibly other Arab countries in an effort to lay the groundwork for broader negotiations. Jordan's King Hussein has not overtly opposed the new U.S. effort but insists that any solution to the Palestinian issue must receive some kind of international guarantee-a condition that is acceptable to Washington but not Shamir. For his part, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak feels strongly that any solution must go beyond the deliberately vague Palestinian "autonomy called for in the 1978 Camp David accords and determine the final status of the occupied lands

As Shultz prepared to begin his peace mission, widespread unrest continued to roil the occupied territories and even spread to a new region: the Druze villages of the Golan Heights, seized by Israel from Syria in 1967 and formally annexed in 1981. Some 8,000 stone-throwing protesters clashed with Israeli police in three villages. In all, 33 demonstrators were injured



Prime Minister Shamir opposes any concessions



The Secretary of State favors a trade-off

## Then There Were Nine

The white United Nations station wagon headed outh on the coastal highway from the Lebanese town of Tyre-Suddenly, near the village of Ras el-Ein, a brown Volto blocked the road. Gunmen leaped from the car and dragged out the station wagon's lone passenger: US. Marine Lieut. Colonel William Higgins, 43, the leader of a "G-man observer group attached to the U.N. Interim Force: The attackers That addaction last week brought to nine the number of American hostages in Lebanon.

Two days later the so-called Organization of the Oppressed on Earth delivered to a Western news agency a statement typed in Arabic declaring its responsibility for the abduction. En-



Bloody cycle of riot and reprisal: Israeli troops drag an Arab suspect from his home

closed were samphots of two of Higgins' identity cards. The statement read: "We have caught the threat of the American serpent, criminal agent of the satanic CIA and one of the biggest spies, sowing daily terror in our land." Mindful that an earlier hostage. CIA Station Chief William Buckley, had been tortured to death by his abductors, the State Department denied any links between the kidnaped colonel and the U.S. intelligence

At the time of his capture Higgins, a native of Kentucky and a former aide to ex-U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, was returning from a meeting with a local leader of the Shi'tle Amal millita. The include was a major embarrassment for Amal Leader Nabih Berri, Lebanon's Jones Weinberg, and the Marchael Shi'tle Amal, along with U.N. peacekeeping forces, immediately launched a manhunt for Higgins and his abductors.



Higgins on U.N. duty last November

by rubber bullets and tear-gas canisters fired by police in quelling the disturbances. In the West Bank and Gaza, at least three Palestinians were killed last week as Arab youths stoned cars and torched buses to enforce a general strike.

The Israeli army, already under fire for its conduct, found itself embroiled in another controversy over a ghastly incident in the West Bank yillage of Salim. There, army officials said last week, Israeli soldiers forced for suspected roll teaders to lie on the ground last Feb. 5 and ordered an army bulldower offiver to pash a mound of earth over them. Miraculously, the victims were dug out after by villagers after the solvent of the control of the providers of the providers had been arrested for allegedly participation in the incident.

The turmoil spread beyond Israel's borders. Israel's foreign-intelligence service, MOSSAD, was widely suspected of involvement in two bombing incidents in the Cypriot port of Limassol last week. In one, three senior officers of Fatah, the main faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization, were killed by explosives hidden under the seat of their car and detonated by remote control. Although the P.L.O. denies it, the three were apparently in Limassol to arrange the purchase of the Sol Phryne, a rundown ferryboat that the P.L.O. intended to use for a voyage dramatizing the plight of 130 Palestinians deported by Israel.

hat planned voyage, called el awda (the return), was supposed to recall the experience of Jewish Holocaust survivors who sought to enter the port of Haifa in British-controlled Palestine aboard the refugee ship Exodus in 1947. The P.L.O. effort, several weeks in the planning, was basically a theatrical gesture. But it promised to be an effective public relations ploy and infuriated the Israelis, who vowed to prevent the ship's arrival in Haifa. About 18 hours after the killing of the Fatah trio, a magnetic mine attached below the waterline of the Sol Phryne exploded, causing no injuries but leaving a 3½-ft. by 1½-ft. gash that disabled the vessel and prompted the P.L.O. to postpone el awda indefinitely. Israel officially denied complicity in the car bombing but hardly bothered to conceal its role in disabling the ferry.

The fate of another voyage, Shultz's latest round of peace negotiations, re mained almost as problematic. Though it has always been taken for granted that the U.S. would participate in the Arab-Israeli peace process when it resumed. Washington has spent years largely on the sidelines and will be playing catch-up ball for a time. As Shultz last week set out for Moscow, where he was to meet with Soviet officials before moving on to the Middle East, the Secretary professed to be unperturbed by Shamir's lack of enthusiasm or any other unfavorable Middle East portent. Said Shultz: "The thing is to get going at it ' By William R. Doerner.

Reported by Ricardo Chavira/Washington and Robert Slater/Jerusalem

#### World

SOVIET UNION

### **Borrowing a Leaf from Lenin**

Gorbachev defends his reforms and sacks a former ally

The 75-page text bore a cumbersome ti-tle: Ideology of Renewal for Revolutionary Perestroika. But Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at last week's Central Committee plenum was a spirited defense of the ambitious economic and social reform policies that he has championed under the banner of perestroika, or restructuring. On topics ranging from party doctrine and Soviet history to cultural freedom and foreign policy, the General Secretary called for continued change while identifying his own innovations with the Communist ideals of Lenin. "We are striving," he declared, "to revive the Leninist look of the new system, to rid it

of everything that shackled society and prevented it from realizing the potential of socialism in full measure

The speech seemed partly aimed at answering conservative grumblings that Gorbachev's reforms were taking the country down a non-Communist road. Though the party leader admitted that perestroika had caused confusion, he proclaimed, "We are not retreating one step from socialism [and] everything which has been won and created by the people" since the triumph of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1917. Yet realizing Lenin's original vision, said Gorbachev, meant adapting to modern times and changed "international conditions."



The General Secretary drums up support Not retreating one step from socialism.

Even as he pounded the drum of reform. Gorbachev sounded some notes of caution. Addressing the problem of simmering nationalism among the country's diverse and far-flung ethnic groups, he called for a Central Committee meeting to review policies toward the Soviet Union's 136 million non-Russians. Speaking only two days after Soviet authorities prevented most of the independence rallies in the Baltic republic of Lithuania, the General Secretary sternly declared that "any manifestations of nationalism are incompatible" with the ideal of "Soviet patriotism.

While calling for the continued flowering of art and culture under his policy of glasnost, or openness, Gorbachev warned against excessive literary and journalistic criticisms of Soviet history. He objected to "writings of the moment that obscure rather than elucidate the truth," as opposed to works of "genuine scientific research." His remarks, apparently aimed at several recent articles and plays, showed that there are limits to glasnost.

In foreign policy, Gorbachev praised the Reagan Administration for its commitment to the intermediate-range nuclear-forces treaty, but spoke out sharply against U.S. "ultra-rightists" who sought to undermine the accord. He also lashed out at those Western "imperialists" who oppose the Soviet Union because "they fear a revival of the attractive force of socialist ideas." Such words reflected the deep-seated distrust that often seems to color the Soviet leader's view of the West. The party plenum was also the oc-

casion of Boris Yeltsin's ouster from his nonvoting seat on the ruling Politburo. A former Gorbachev protégé, Yeltsin had been relieved as head of the Moscow party organization last year after delivering a harsh speech criticizing the slow pace of reform. Elevated to Yeltsin's former Politburo rank were two technocrats closely allied with Gorbachev: Georgi Razumovsky, 52, the Central Committee secretary in charge of personnel, and Yuri Maslyukov, 50, the State Planning Committee chairman. They are now the youngest members of the 21-seat Politburo, a distinction held until last week by the 56-year-old Gorbachev. By Howard G. Chua-Eoan.

Reported by James O. Jackson/Moscow

### **Under Siege**

Waldheim fights to stay on

ow more than ever." That battle cry helped Kurt Waldheim become President of Austria two years ago, despite an international uproar over his service with German army units that committed atrocities during World War

II. But the slogan echoed with bitter irony last week as calls for his resignation mounted in the wake of a report by a panel of historians who concluded that Waldheim, 69, was well aware of war crimes but did nothing to stop them and then concealed his knowledge.

In many schoolrooms across Austria, portraits of the President vanished from the walls. Civil servants in Vienna hung a 100-ft.-long banner from a government office building demanding that Waldheim step down. In the capital's St. Stephen's Square, some 3,500 demonstrators gathered around a 10-ft.high wooden horse wearing a storm trooper's cap, which has become an anti-Waldheim symbol.

The President responded with a televised speech attacking the six-member historians' panel, though he had urged its appointment last year. Waldheim said he would "not retreat in the face of slanders. hateful demonstrations and wholesale condemnations." While polls taken for the daily Die Presse after the speech found that 46% still opposed Waldheim's resignation, only 34% of respondents said they would now vote for him. In 1986 he won 54% of the vote.



Protesters in Vienna call for the President's resignation

For the first time, both parties in Austria's shaky coalition government seemed to harbor serious doubts about the President. Fritz Rücker, vice chairman of the pro-Waldheim People's Party in Salzburg, guit to protest what he called "false slavish loyalty" toward Waldheim. Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, who heads the Socialists, threatened to resign unless the furor over Waldheim died down

Abroad, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher ordered a re-examination of possible links between Waldheim and the 1944 execution of six British commandos in Greece. In Jerusalem the Israeli Knesset called for Waldheim's resignation or impeachment in light of the

nanel's report. The pressure on Waldheim is

likely to grow as Austria prepares for next month's 50th anniversary of its annexation by Hitler's Third Reich. Says Secretary of State for Women's Affairs Johanna Dohnal, a Socialist leader: "Anything that will free us from the present position will be welcome as a solution. Anything would be better than what we have now." In ever increasing numbers, Austrians are starting to agree.

# The difference between saving a life and threatening it.



It started out as a trip across town. Suddenly, you're in an ambulance racing to the hospital. It's an emergency. A matter of life and death. You've lost blood. The doctors tell you that you're going to need a transfusion. Now, you're really seared.

The AIDS virus has changed the way we think about transfusions. It's made us cautious. What hasn't changed is the importance of the

transfusion to our medical pro-

cedures. It's vital.
Which is why Du Pont worked to

create a highly accurate method of testing to help protect the nation's blood supply from the deadly AIDS vins

Today, that testing system serves over 1,200 hospitals in more than 20 states, helping millions of people feel more secure that the blood they may one day need to live won't be hazardous to their health.

This achievement, the dedication of the people who created it, and the urgency with which they worked indicate Du Pont's commitment to maintain confidence in our nation's blood supply.

At Du Pont, we make the things that make a difference.

Better things for better living.





## Any great whisky come to mind?



Canadian Club \*

A premium whisky, unrivaled in quality and smoothness since 1858.

NICARAGUA

### **Lights Out in Managua**

#### Discontent with the Sandinistas grows as the economy sags

Caddling a sack of grain under one arm and a bay of eggs in the other, a stout woman leaves the open-air market and climbs into a horse-drawn taxi. The elder-ly driver, a smile creasing his weathered face, tugs on the reins and utters a sharp face, tugs on the reins and utters a sharp torn leather awning rolls away. The scene could have come from Cabbages and Kings. O. Henry's collection of pictur-seque short stories set in turn-of-the-century Central America. But this is no Discaragua.

All across the country these days, horse-drawn, hand-pushed and pedalpowered vehicles are reappearing, along with kerosene lamps, candles and firewood stoves. At the same time, many of the basic trappings of 20th century life, such as electricity, gasoline, running water and postal services, are declining or vanishing. Since 1979, when the Marxistoriented Sandinista regime ousted Dictator Anastasio Somoza, much of the country's economic and industrial infrastructure has fallen into ruin. Under Sandinista rule. Nicaragua's foreign debt has risen from \$1.6 billion to \$7 billion, while real wages have fallen by 90%. Inflation is estimated at 1.800% for 1987, and some economists believe it could surpass a stratospheric 10.000% this year.

President Daniel Ortega Sauvedra attributes such hardships to U.S. sanctions and the American-backed contra insurgency. In recent months, however, increasing numbers of Ortega's long-suffering countrymen are blaming their predicament not on outside aggression but on the Sandinistas. Says Carlos Huembes, president of a coalition of antisandinista groups known as the Democratic Coordinator: "People are losing their patience, and people are losing their

Last week the Managua regime unveiled a desperate strategy to tame Nicaragua's hyperinflated economy. The government replaced the existing currency, the cordoba, which was officially valued at 20,000 to the U.S. dollar, with a new cordoba pegged at ten to the dollar. The monetary shuffle, coupled with drastic price increases, left many of the country's 3.3 million citizens baffled and worried about their purchasing power. A gallon of gas that used to cost the equivalent of 16¢, for example, now costs \$1.50. Explaining the decision to change the currency last week Economist Mario Arana declared. "Things were so grave that we had to do something. The question was whether to make it a shock or a gradual adjustment.

We decided on a shock."

Instead of galvanizing the economy, however, the shock treatment appeared to

The confusion over the new money

Many agricultural products are becoming scarce. Although the government quadrupled the price of milk to reduce demand last November; both fresh and powdered milk are nearly impossible to a find. Meat is generally semilable but contry's largest export crop, coffee, has been endangered by mismanagement. Some 6,000 workers were dispatched last month to the northern part of the country to salvage what they can before millions of vage what they can before millions of the ground.

Many areas seethe with bitter opposition to the government's conscription law, which requires two years of military service by all men over the age of 17. In Ma-



Ignoring the government-inspired anti-U.S. graffiti, women queue up for cooking gas
With price hikes and currency shuffles, the regime was fast losing popularity at home.

only added to the stress of everyday life. Earlier this month, the government imposed a nationwide energy emergency. Thousands of workers were laid off amid production slowdowns at large factories. Government ministries now close at midday, and TV broadcasts are limited to four hours at night. Daily power cuts of several hours are parceled out to each region. In Managua whole neighborhoods are spring the capital an erier resemblance to the Rumanian capital of Boucharest, where government-enforced blackouts have been imposed for years.

Severe gasoline shortages compound the effects of the power cuts. Last year the Soviet Union signaled its displeasure with Sandinista waste and inefficiency by reducing oil deliveries. By Christmas, motorists were camping overnight in mill-long queues for the chance to buy 5 gal. of gasoline. Angry customers overpowered the attendants at some Managua service stations and helpodt themselves to the fuel.

saya two weeks ago, army recruiters dragged some 300 teenagers from the homes, according to eyewitness accounts, handcuffed them and, after checking their identities, impressed about 30 into the army. Over the next three nights, relative to the contract of the contract of their con

and the sandaminal university seem to be spending among Nicaragua's citizens. Three weeks ago, the Sandinista leadership was heartened when Congress cut off new aid to the contras. But contra-Sandinista talks were suspended late last week with no agreement, and most Nicaraguans no longer believe the country is headed toward peace and prosperity. The Sandinistas may have won a political batterial contrast to the contrast of the contrast talks were and prosperity. The standinists may have won a political batterial contrast to the contrast



Philomen Timothy Ndaba

Dressed in a three-piece suit, the grocerystore entrepreneur poses with his family by their Rolls-Royce. He is now seeking to buy property in "white" Johannesburg



Moses

After working as an importer of hair-care products, the former singer took over a record-distributing franchise when its U.S. parent bowed to sanctions and pulled out

#### World

SOUTH AF

## The New Black Middle Class

With drive and talent, an affluent élite shakes up the old order

n the townships on the outskirts of Johannesburg and Pretoria, where the urban black labor force is required by law to live, many of the roads are littered, unpaved and scarred with potholes. Increasingly, however, they lead to the gates of grandiose homes built amid the matchbox slums by a new class of upwardly mobile black professionals and entrepreneurs known, like their American counterparts, as "buppies." Inside exclusive enclaves with up-market names like Siluma View and Beverly Hills, the new black élite is enjoying amenities once reserved for whites only: "his" and "hers" Mercedes, live-in black servants, Jacuzzi baths.

This newly affluent class is spearheading a peaceful but dramatic revolution in which blacks, who outnumber whites nearly 5 to 1 in South Africa are starting to flex their economic muscle as earners and consumers. Blacks will pay an estimated total of \$350 million in taxes this year, up from \$58 million two years ago. Increasing numbers of blacks are working in middle-class professions as lawyers, doctors, psychiatrists, engineers, tax consultants and stockbrokers. Black businesses, large and small, are sprouting like mushrooms. The South African Black Taxi Association, for example, has increased its membership fivefold, to 45,000, since 1983 and last year made an abortive \$75 million bid to take over the country's largest white-owned bus company. Last month the black-owned Soweto Investment Trust Co. acquired PepsiCo's independent South African subsidiary for \$2 million.

The rise in black purchasing power is having a marked impact on the national economy. More and more companies are boosting their sales figures by targeting their products to the black consumer, who now buys almost half of all items sold at retail. Kellogg's, one of the few U.S .linked companies that continue to maintain a high profile in South Africa, last year established an annual "excellence in achievement award" to encourage black entrepreneurship. New organizations, such as the Business Achievers Foundation and the Black Management Forum. are promoting black business and financial interests.

Black-owned shopping centers are fast replacing the corner groceries and market stalls that until recently were the main stores catering to township residents. The new \$2.8 million Lesedi City mail, east of Johannesburg, the largest yet built in any urban black area, houses 35 black businesses, including a supermarbuside that the state of the stall stall the stall stall stall the stall s

Developer Gray Thathane, 56: "That's the march to freedom."

These nascent signs of change on the landscape of apartheid have been a long time coming. In the wake of the bloody 1976 uprising in the sprawling township of Soweto, outside Johannesburg, angry young radicals trashed many black businesses, along with government-owned liquor stores and beer halls, as symbols of white oppression. At that time they could find relatively few such targets, since the law impeded black ownership of homes and businesses in urban areas. Only gradually were free enterprise and limited schemes for home ownership extended to the townships on the basis of 99-year leases. In April 1986 the government scrapped the hated pass laws, which reguired blacks to carry documents stating where they could live and work. That tended to give blacks increased confidence about trying to build, buy and develop properties and businesses in districts where they were permitted to live. Late last year the first black freehold properties were registered.

The result has been an extraordinary construction boom, bolstered by urban black improvement schemes that were developed, often under international pressure, by local and foreign South African business organizations. Even before the



The developer of the biggest shopping mall in any black township is surrounded by aides as he pores over building plans. His wealth came from a groceries and speakeasies



The daughter of a miner, she was a reporter for the daily Johannesburg Star before becoming editor of Tribute magazine. Her children attend private multiracial schools

lifting of residence and property restrictions, blacks were beginning to enjoy better wages, job opportunities and employment benefits. Expanded credit to township homeowners and developers, to that gome 530 million a month catalog some 530 million at most five from low-income to middle-income and even luxury housing. A Cape Town concerned attended by government officials out the promise of even greater progress, assuccessive speakers called for conomic reforms aimed at giving blacks a bigger share of the country's wealth.

In Soweto suburbs that were once flash points of unrest, signs now advertise dazens of new residential developments. Almost every other house in the black townships has a fresh look. Some feature of do-it-yourself extensions; others are rebrand new, built on cleared lots or over brand new, built on cleared lots or over old foundations. This home-ownership drive has produced profitable spin-offs for black businesses, ranging from contractors and suppliers of building materials to dealers in instant lawns and burglar.

dealers in instant awas and outgate, alarm systems. Moses Mahilalela, 41, a design engineer with offices in one of the new Soweto shopping centers, can hardly keep up with demand. "This shows to my or the says, pointing to the dozen or so blue-prints on his drawing board." But I intend to do that before the end of the vear."

The government of South Africa was not exactly motivated by altruism when it relaxed the apartheid laws restricting black businesses and 
property rights, thereby fostering 
the rise of a black middle class. "It

hoped the ownership of palatial homes and heavy mortages would create a class of black people that would have too much to lose to help the masses in the struggle for liberation," says Aggrey Klasste, editor of the black newspaper Sowetan. "It has not worked out that way. Not at all." On the contrary, the material success of a growing number of blacks has reinforced demands for economic and political freedom by contributing to a sense of pride and rising expectations.

This 'new black consciousness has found an editorial voice in several magazines. The best is Tribute, a glossy full-color monthly that profiles successful blacks and plays to their growing taste for the fashion and travel interspersed with adstouting expensive perfumes and sports cars. Two years ago, says Tribute Editor Maud Motanyane, black radicals would have dismissed bupples as 'Irrelevant to the struggle.' Not anymore. 'Black businesses, and the structure of the structure

On the march to freedom: upscale housing in Soweto
The home-ownership drive has boosted other businesses.

are saying. We might own our own big cars and houses, but like you, we really don't own the freedom we all want." Builder Mahlalelae agrees that there has been a "change in attitude" among the young radicals. "Now," he explains, "they are not trying to intimidate me because I have a business and I am making momey. They're saying. This is black money comtains the property of the property of the property of the The present truce between the black

red in presentances between the blackred in presentances between the black premiddle class is not without precedent. The founders of the now outlawed African National Congress were professionals, teachers and churchmen who lobbied for civil rights in white-ruled South Africa 75 years ago. Later A.N.C. leaders such as Nelson Mandele, Oliver Tambe and Waldie-class community that challenged the aparthelid government after 194.

Today's black business class contributes generously to antiapartheid organizations, and many militants now accept it as the protagonist in a new form of con-

frontation with whites that is taking place in the boardroom. "At one time black managers in South Africa were little more than token blacks in white business," says Morakile Shuenyane, a spokesman for the independent Black Management Forum. "Now it is the responsibility of black management to play a role model with the intention of melting white attitudes." Far from serving as quislings for the white establishment, the new black élite is emerging in its own right as a powerful arm of the liberation struggle. - By Sandra Burton. Reported by Peter Hawthorne/Johannesburg

#### **World Notes**







EAST-WEST 55-12 on parade in Moscow's Red Square

BRITAIN

#### Furry Furor

The elegant, fur-clad woman sports a bloody animal paw worn as an earning and a steel trap as a brooch. Her picture is accompanied by this warning: THE LEG HOLD TRAP—FOR AN-MALS THAT DON'T GET STRANGLED, BRATEN, GASSED OR ELECTROCUTED. That poster is part of a campaign by Britain's animal lovers to publicize the inhumane manner in which many fur cost sar produced.

The government is expected to introduce a law this spring requiring coats made from lynx, coyote, wolf, bobcat or fox to carry a label stating that the fur comes from "animals commonly caught in leghold traps," The British Fur Trade Association said it was not overly worried, since the law applies only to skins of wild animals and some 85% of all skins sold in Britain are farm-bred. But the B.F.T.A. complained that the move could hamper its research "into humane trapping methods."

FOVE

## Son of the Revolution

For four years a group calling itself Egypt's Revolution conducted a campaign of assassinations against Israeli and American diplomats in Cairo. Last week authorities announced the indictiment of 20 alleged members of the leftist group, which opposes the 1979 Egyptian peace treaty with Israel. One of the alleged feeders and the control of the cont

Prosecutors demanded the death sentence for Khaled for a string of attacks that left two Israelis dead and six Israeli and two American diplomats wounded. Both Khaled and his cousin Gamal Shawki Abdel Nasser fled Egypt a few months ago and have reportedly taken refuge in Europe.

## Purloined Papers

NAZIS

The Berlin Document Center, housed in deceptively tranquil white cottages in the Zehlendorf district of West Berlin, is home to 30 million official Nazi files, including the complete records of the murderous SS. The papers are stored in underground passages, bunkers and labyrinths sealed with setel down.

Nonetheless, police officials last week announced that some 30,000 files have been smuggled out of the U.S.-administered center in recent years. Dealers in Nazi memorabilia have offered some papers for prices ranging from \$120 to \$2,950. Others have shown up in auction houses in Hamburg. Munich and London. Police fear that some files may have been used to blackmail former Nazis trying to recast their lives.

THE VATICAN

#### A Pax on Both Their Houses

He was nothing if not evenhanded. In a 20.000-word encyclical letter, Pope John Paul II last week blasted both East and West for an ideological rivalry that has created a "direct obstacle" to healing the ills of the Third World. That, said the Pontiff, amounted to nothing less than a "betraval of humanity's legitimate expectations." The document, titled Sollicitudo Rei Socialis (The Social Concerns of the Church), contains some of the most sweeping social pronouncements the Pope has vet made. It was issued as an updating of Pope Paul VI's influential 1967 encyclical Populorum Progressio (The Development of Peoples).

Though normally regarded as anti-Communist, the Polish Pope in this instance was equally critical of capitalism and Marxism. Each, said the Pontiff, "harbors in its own way a tendency toward imperialism" and employs
"structures of sin" in seeking
wealth and influence in the
world's poor nations. What
they desperately need, said he,
is "impartial aid from all the
richer and more developed
countries"

EAST-WEST

#### Slightly Ahead Of Their Time

For East Germany's normally stolid Neues Deutschland, it was a rare scoop. The Communist Party daily reported last week that Soviet troops were preparing to dismantle the first of 54 SS-12 nuclear missiles in East Germany that are scheduled to be scrapped under the U.S.-Soviet intermediatermage nuclear forces treaty-continued to meet stiff opposition during a U.S. Senate debate over its ratification.

Western analysts viewed the Soviet steps as a propaganda gesture designed to encourage Senate passage of the treaty and to win over nervous West Europeans. Sure enough, West Germany's opposition Social Democrats urged Chancellor Helmut Kohl to respond by starting to remove the 72 Pershing 1A missiles that Bonn and Washington jointly control on West German soil. But NATO officials insist that no Western missiles be scrapped until the Senate ratifies the INF accord.

# THE GOOD BREAKFAST GUIDE



Squeeze breakfast into your morning routine. Get the fuel you need to manage your day.

## BREAKFAST - FAVORITES



Rich in amino acidsjust watch how many you eat!



Surprise! An excellent source of calcium.



Creative breakfast combos are just a whirl away.



Over 200 blends give you the wake-up call of your choice.



Strawberries
Deliciously fiber
rich—on top of cereal
or eaten alone.

## BREAKFAST ISN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE

There was a time in this country that some of us still remember. It was a time when breakfast wasn't a rushed meal, acten while racing out the door. It was a pre-appliance and pre-instant time, when oatmeal simmered through the night in the top of a double boiler. When eags were found under sleep chickens in a backyard hen house, and bread came warm from the oven But all thad came warm from the oven But all thad country where farm families when the country where families where the country where the country where families where the country where the coun

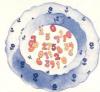
Most of us do not follow the convenional wisdom, "Eat breakfast like a king, lunch like a prince, and supper like a papper." We eat in reverse orders small breakfast, big dinner. And while most of us aren't working in the fact, we still need to start the day with a good breakfast—especially since we're look longer living those Father Knous Best days. We're living in a culture windst all they are days. We're living in a culture when fachanges, we look for things that they be feel better about ourselves and each other.

Dr. Kelly Brownell, a psychologist at Pennsylvania State University, says eating a good breakfast can have the same effect on your feeling of well agas ar unning several miles. "People who exercise in the morning often feel good all day." Brownell says, "because they've started out doing something the healthy. A hearty, rational breakfast can also make you feel good about your also make you feel good about young the positive attitude.

For Marion Cunningham, author of The Breakfast Book, breakfast is more than a meal; it's a feeling that represents comfort and home. "Eating breakfast together helps us reconnect with each other."

For years, our doctors and our mothers have told us that breakfast is the most important meal of the day. Then why, suddenly, are we reawakening to the importance of breakfast? The answer is a simple one: we are more diet and health conscious than we've ever been. And in our search for ways to become healthier, we're discovering the benefits of eating a good breakfast.





## CRUNCHING STATISTICS IS BREAKFAST REALLY GOOD FOR YOU?

Research suggests that the decision to breakfast or not to breakfast can change your life. Look at the evidence, and you may, upon rising tomorrow, blink quite a few times before you decide to go without breakfast. Here's why:

## RX FOR A LONG LIFE

People who eat breakfast tend to live longer than those who don't. This amazing claim comes from a group of California nutritionists. Back in 1965, public health specialist Dr. Lester Breslow and other researchers in Alameda County, California, interviewed 6,934 men and women-60 years old and older-about breakfasting and other lifestyle habits. The researchers followed the group for the next twenty vears and found that men and women who ate breakfast regularly had a 20 percent chance of living longer. But that's not all they uncovered. The researchers also discovered other factors associated with longevity: smoking, exercise, weight, alcohol consumption, sleep and snacking.

Many years ago, Dr. Raymond Pearl casearch that linked breakfast eating to longevity. And while it's never been proven that skipping breakfast is harmful to our health, Pearl's findings underscore the importance of eating breakfast. He studied men and women in their 80s and 90s and found they had out thing most in common: they had eaten a



The TV hit Father Knows Rest was a favorite only 30 years ago, when a nation of Americans

gathered around their breakfast tables before running off to school and work. The picture of the typical family breakfast has changed, and we're now making breakfast fit our individual lifestyles.

Breakfast aficionados rejoice! Breakfast restau rants are here. In

California—The Bridge Creek Restaurant in Berkeley and Café Fanny in San Francisco. In Maine-The Good Egg in Portland. In New York City County Fare.

big breakfast throughout their lives.

These days, Dr. Thomas Pearson and his colleagues at Johns Hopkins University are investigating the ways in which hundreds of men and women have been eating for the past 40 years. Says Pearson, "Eat a good, solid breakfastoatmeal with raisins, low-fat milk and fruit juice." It's high in protein, vitamins and fiber, and low in fat, which researchers have linked to heart disease and cancer.

# IND GATE



If you're trying to lose weight, skipping breakfast is not going to help you trim down. In fact, a disproportionate number of overweight people don't eat breakfast. Yale psychologist Judith Rodin says that breakfast is the one meal many dieters find easy to give up, probably because it's often small and eaten in a hurry. But here's the catch; breakfast skippers make up for the missed nutrients with fattening snacks and bigger, calorie-filled lunches and dinners.

Researchers at the University of Minnesota Medical School came up with these interesting results in 1974: They found that men and women who ate 2.000 calories each day at breakfast lost weight, while those who ate the same 2,000 calorie meal at night gained. Jane Brody, health columnist for The New York Times says that breakfast can actually "help you lose weight. After a good breakfast, you are likely to eat less for lunch and dinner. Also, calories consumed early in the day are used primarily for fuel, while calories consumed at night tend to be stored as fat.

If you thought that doing without breakfast was a short cut to weight loss, you might want to reconsider this delicious meal. Eating a good breakfast can actually help shed unwanted pounds.

#### WATCHING YOUR WEIGHT? ADVICE FROM THE PROS Weight Watchers has advocated break-

fast eating for 25 years. And for good

Nema Frve, chief nutritionist for Weight Watchers International says, "Those who never ate breakfast before have found they really enjoy it. Breakfast helps you control your appetite so that you're less likely to overeat later in the day. And you'll be surprised at how very delicious breakfast is when you haven't overeaten the night before. It's also an excellent time to get calcium and fiber-rich foods you may not otherwise



grains are naturally fiber rich; many of those commercial cereals you enjoy are excellent sources of fiber. What's the big deal about fiber? It gently pushes food through the intestine, helping to alleviate constipa tion and prevent diverticulitis. Some researchers believe fiber may even reduce the risk of colon cancer. Despite fiber's benefits, Americans eat much too little of it. In fact, most of us eat only half or even less of the 20 to 30 grams a day that

Institute recom-

mends. An easy

way to increase

your fiber intake is

to eat a fiber-rich

breakfast cereal.

Grains of Truth

If cereal is part of

your morning regi-

men-and a good

cereal should be-

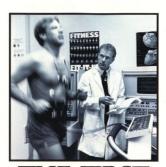
take some time to

on the box. Make sure a decent





TOPIC: Cholesterol
SPEAKER: Stephen R. Yarnall, M.D., Fellow of the American College of Cardiology



THE FIRST
THING I ASK MY
PATIENTS IS,
"WHAT DO YOU
EAT FOR
BREAKFAST?"

#### THE BAD NEWS:

A cardiologist like Dr. Stephen Yarnall sees patients every day with heart problems caused by too much cholesterol in the blood and arteries. "And, the blood and arteries. "And, the problem often begins with breakfast," Dr. Yarnall explains. "Think of the popularity of fatty breakfast foods. A diet high in saturated fats

A diet high in stimulates the liver to supply the blood with cholesterol, and can keep the cholesterol level high throughout the day." The worrisome fact is

that over fifty percent of adult Americans have elevated cholesterol levels. That could very likely mean you. THE GOOD NEWS:
Yes, there is good news. If breakfast is part of the problem, then it could be part of the solution. It's recently

been discovered that lowering the cholesterol in your blood may not only

delay the progression of atherosclerosis (cholesterolclogged arteries), but may actually reverse the process, and improve your chances of avoiding a heart

attack, stroke, or other cardiovascular problems. That low you make it through the morning, and gives you the variety you stick with it. In fact, for people who

people who weight and/ cholesterol Dr. Yarnall surprised us by

even

suggesting

"Eat breakfast twice a day." This message is brought to you by Kellogg's, where a

healthy breakfast starts

want to lose

or attack a

problem.

fat, low cholesterol diet can very logically begin with breakfast.

SO WHAT CAN YOU EAT FOR BREAKFAST? One of the most sat-

isfying, easiest and healthiest breakfasts you can eat is cereal with skim milk, and fruit. It helps For more information on lowering cholesterol, including a Health Passport from The American Health Foundation, a special brochure on cholesterol, and coupons for Kellogg's cereals, write to: Kellogg's Healthy Life, PO. Box 5452, Kalamazoo, M. 49003-5452

Kelloggis

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GET A TASTE FOR THE HEALTHY LIFE.

#### More and more people are going out for breakfast. According to the

National Restaurant Association, dinner traffic increased 22.5 percent from 1979 to 1984, while breakfast grew 56.7 percent. Breakfast traffic has grown 2½ times faster than dinner traffic.



#### Got the breakfast blahs? If you're skipping

II you're skipping breakfast, be careful. "It's like putting our bodies in idle each morning, just when we need to step on the accelerator," says George L. Blackburn, MD, professor at the Harvat Medical School and Medical School and director of nutrition at New England Deaconess Hospital.



#### The essentials of breakfast didn't always include a glass of

include a glass of milk, hot coffee or tea. A breakfast recorded in the 14th century Northumberland Household Book called for a quart of beer and a quart of wine to help everything go down.





# THE EVOLUTION OF BREAKFAST Breakfast, which literally means to

break one's fast, was eaten at least as far back as the mid-1400s. For most people it consisted only of bread and ale. But for Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603), breakfast included "fine wheaten loaves" with butter, a thick mutton or beef soup, plus rabbit or goose pie and, of course, ale, beer and wine. (Like her father Henry VIII, Elizabeth was always a hearty eater.) Louis XIV of France (1638-1715), on the other hand, preferred a much lighter breakfast. He dined on bread and watered-down wine and saved his appetite for lunch and a lavish dinner, served at 10 p.m. (Breakfast is still not much of an affair in France.)

In America, Indians ate commeal mush for breakfast. The European colonists did the same. By the 19th century, cheese, fish, meats, bread and jams, and perhaps a drink of rum or cider, made up the first meal of the day. Three small Indian cornmeal hoe-

cakes and three cups of tea was one of George Washington's (1732-1799) favorite breakfasts. Well known for being a gourmet, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) had a considerably more substantial breakfast at Monticello. He feasted on such dishes as capitolade of fowl on toast (a sort of deluxe chicken hash), braised partridges, cold meats, bacon, eggs, hot breads, tansy pudding, batter cakes and fried apples. Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) started the day with a cup of coffee; his breakfast later on included an egg, a slice of toast and more coffee. Lincoln, a light eater, sometimes forgot the toast.

At the end of the 19th century, health-food promoters created packaged cold cereals that revolutionized the morning meal. Some of the earliest had names like Gramula, Gluten Grits, Barley Crystals and Hazel Cereal. Others had more staying power, like Quaker Oats Oatmeal (1873) and Kellogg's Corn Flakes (1906).

Foods that are now considered breakfast foods were not always considered morning fare. In Victorian times, eggs became a breakfast food in England only when they accompanied the traditional kidneys, bacon, chops were not something one are during one and tenting one and tenting one and tenting one are during one to the first meal of the day, waffles were served for supper alongside a steart, was what New Englanders had for breakfast in the early half of the 19th century.

The moral of the story: tastes change, what's breakfast in one region is dinner in another, so eat what you like as long as it's nutritious.

Guess what these two are up to? In I Love Lucy, best buddies Ethel and Lucy enjoy cooking up a day of zany activities over breakfast.



The University of California, Berkeley Wellness Letter reports . . . "it is probably easier to incorporate wholesome foods into your diet at break-fast than at any other meal.

other meal. Many low-fat, lowcholesterol foods are ideal morning fare. For those who eat it. breakfast provides on average about one-third of their daily calcium. thiamin, riboflavin, and vitamin C, along with one-quarter of the iron, vitamin A, and vitamin B-12. according to USDA surveys

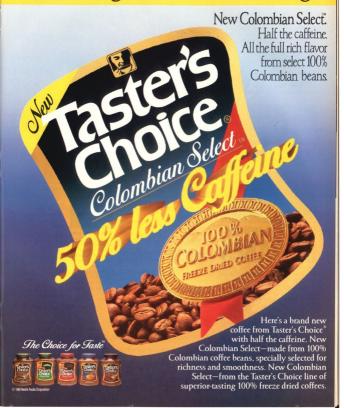


Sit down, collect your thoughts and enjoy the luxury of eating breakfast

enjoy the luxury of eating breakfast alone. According to Sarah Short, a mutrition professor at Syracuse University. 'By relaxing at breakfast, you reduce the stress factor over the entire day.' 'That's a nice thing to do for yourself.

JOEL POPAL

# Introducing a coffee breakthrough.



# ONCENTR

Kids who eat breakfast start the day out right. Recent studies done at the University of Texas Human Nutrition Center show that children have significantly better problem-solving ability on those mornings they've eaten breakfast. On the days they go without breakfast, they have lower test scores and lower levels of insulin and glucose. According to the researchers, these findings indicate that "glucose and insulin changes . . . may have a direct effect on levels of (chemicals) in the brain involved in cognitive (thinking) function." Put another way: breakfast is brain food.



# FROM THE MOUTHS

Government nutritionists think breakfast is so important they supply it for free to public schoolers who otherwise wouldn't eat it. At 35,000 schools across the country, the government dishes up a whooping 610 million break-





fasts to 10 million kids a year-that's one heck of a lot of milk and cereal! Whether they eat breakfast at home around the kitchen table, or with their classmates in the school cafeteria. here's what the little ones have to say about their morning repasts:

"Breakfast gets me going everyday. I will be here for years.

Carmine Cambisi 4th Grade Alleghany School Lindenhurst, N.Y.

"Breakfast helps me have energy to win when I play football, baseball and soccer."

Iarret Orenstein 3rd grade Eastwoods School Oyster Bay, N.Y.

"Breakfast gives your brain food so you can think clearly, and you can do good in school."

4th grade C.W. Harris Elementary School Phoenix, Arizona

"Breakfast wakes me up in the morning like coffee wakes you up.'

Jennifer Hancock 4th grade Alleghany School Lindenhurst, N.Y.

Karri Mussi

that smart during the morning." Anthony Chavez 4th Grade

C.W. Harris Elementary School Phoenix, Arizona

Anchor yourself in the morning with breakfast Take a break for a few minutes to plan the day's activities or reflect upon a fond memory. Use breakfast time to





How do you get primed for the ski slopes? With a "ski breakfast".

Ski resorts actually place tables in the snow and serve a bounty of foodsfrom fresh fruit, hot oatmeal and mulled cider to eggs benedict. Canadian bacon and coffee.



Pizza for breakfast? Sure, if you like it, eat it, Pizza is actually a good breakfast according to Dr. Paul Saltman, a nutrition expert and professor of biology at the University of California, San Diego. "It's more nutritious than many

traditional breakfast foods."

What's an "event breakfast"? It's the meal that joins people together and starts the day's events. Case in point: On Kentucky Derby day, breakfast is every thing from hominy grits and mixed biscuits to

inch-thick pork





This man follows a doctor prescribed regimen of exercise, the right foods, and a Bayer\* Aspirin a day.

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might change your mind after reading

At 83, Anna Ward has won two gold

"When you quit, you're done," says

Mom's breakfast recipe for her now 100



Mommy lives somewhere else and soon-tobe divorced daddy. Dustin Hoffman. plays the nurturing role of mother and the breakfast that he and his son share next to the





The kitchen nowhere to be found in this breakfast scene from Kramer

"I've long said

that if I were

executed and

were given a

choice of my

last meal, it

the late James

would be bacon

and eggs," said

cookbook author.

There are few

Beard, food teacher,

and food guru, from Beard on Food.

sights that appeal to

me more than the

streaks of lean and

is quite as intoxicat-

ing as the smell of

the morning, save

bacon frying in

perhaps for the

smell of coffee

brewing

fat in good side bacon . . . Nothing

about to be

father: he prepares



blender! Use some imagination and create refreshing and delicious morning treats. Put 3/4 cun of plain yogurt into the blender along with: 1/4 cup milk, 1 cup fresh fruit (any kind), dash of vanilla, half-teaspoon sugar (opt.) and 4 ice cubes-mix, pour, and enjoy an easy and healthy

## **GET READY** GET SET GO! TIPS THAT MAKE

Set the table and get organized the night before.

Use a coffee machine with a timer-the aroma of freshly-made coffee makes it a pleasure to wake up.

Use a microwave to heat and serve the latest, tasty frozen treats.

Pop grain cakes or a variety of delicious fruit tarts into a toaster.

Buy and refrigerate fresh bagels. muffins, breads and croissants in advance to have them handy during the week.

Orack, stir and scramble your eggs directly into the frying pan to avoid excess cleanup.

Pour milk into a single-portion cereal box and eat on the run.

Boil water, add to instant oatmeal or farina, and you have a quick, nourishing meal.

Fill a plastic bag with nuts and raisins and eat on the way to work.

Involve your family—they'll get hooked on breakfast.

medals in the U.S. National Senior Olympics 1500 meter race walk, A devout breakfast eater, Anna believes it's

this.

important to eat right, "Eating a good breakfast has helped me live a healthier life," she says, Anna's making sure her

breakfast values are being incorporated

into the lives of her eight grandchildren and five great grandchildren. "It's necessary for kids to have the proper nourishment they need in the morning."

Michael Figliulo, who's 100 years old

and wakes up with a bowl of oatmeal from his microwave every day. A motorcycle rider for 84 years of his life, Michael recalls the hot bowl of oatmeal his mother made every morning.

vear-old son also included fresh mushrooms and dandelions from the backyard-and a small glass of wine. At 84, Max Popper is a marathon run-

ner who's set national records for his age group, A lean 120 pounds, Max runs

six days a week. After Max runs, he sits

down to oatmeal or dry cereal. Max and his wife Henrietta have been eating

breakfast across the kitchen table from one another for 45 years.



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WASHERS AND DRYERS.



# THE MORNING MEAL GOES GLOBAL





Eating breakfast in a foreign country is a great way to literally taste a different culture. But don't be surprised if the breakfast menu isn't what you'd expect.

The English, for example, like fried bread instead of toast. They place a slice of bread in a skillet of hot bacon fat, brown it, then top it with an egg and surround the plate with bacon.

Breakfast in Scotland has traditionally been smooth oatmeal and oatcakes with a side of sausage. Sound like typical breakfast fare? A closer look at the menu reveals otherwise. Scots also enjoy haddock, kippered herring and whitefish at the start of the day.

Of course, fish is also a main part of the Japanese breakfast. Rice is popular too, especially when sprinkled with nori (dried seaweed) or pickled vegetables. And instead of fruit juice, be prepared to sip miso (soybean) soup.

If you'd rather have fried eggs, a Mexican breakfast called huevos motuleños might tempt you. Besides eggs, it includes tortillas, refried beans, cheese, ham and peas.

Explore breakfast on your next trip. You'll find the many choices of taste an unexpected pleasure.

#### A good breakfast consists of the following: complex carbohydrates (breads or cereals containing fiber, protein, vitamins and minerale), fauit or fauit

fiber, protein, vitamins and minerals), fruit or fruit juice high in vitamin or, low-fat or skim milk or other dairy products. Coffee and tea are okay. Keep fat to a minimum. And most of us should eat no more than three eggs a week.

Vitamin pills help supplement the body with necessary vitamins often lacking in a proper diet.

According to the authors of The California Nutrition Book, "The major problem is that a good number of us simply don't eat enough of the right foods." Remember, while vitamin pills can help, they're no substitute for a good morning meal.



ing on the run is a glamourous treat. Whether you dine in an elegant restaurant, or take out from your favorite breakfast spot, breakfasting alone or with someone special is an affordable luxury.

In Breakfast at

Tiffany's, eat-



## O.J. IS OKAY

One 8-ounce glass of orange juice contains 112 calories, 1.7 grams of protein, 25.8 grams of carbohydrate, 27 milligrams of calcium, 42 milligrams of phosphorus, .5 milligrams of iron, 496 milligrams of yotassium, 500 international units of vitamin A, .22 milligrams of thiamin and 124 milligrams of vitamin C.

These numbers may look like just another set of statistics, but look at what they represent. One glass of orange juice in the morning supplies you with half of the U.S. Government's Recommended Daily Allowance (USDA) of vitamin A. And that's important to you because vitamin A aids your vision, especially your night vision.

Even more impressive, that same glass of orange juice gives you twice the minimum daily allowance of vitamin C the government recommends, and we've all heard about how effective vitamin C is in fighting colds and other infections. As for iron, which is essential in carrying oxygen to red blood cells and to muscle cells, that morning hit of O.I. provides a man with about 5 percent of the recommended daily intake. A woman requires more iron than a man. so the same glass of orange juice supplies her with about 3 percent of her needs. The potassium in your morning orange juice helps regulate blood pressure; the phosphorus helps build bones, as does the calcium. Besides, orange juice-both frozen and fresh-is virtually fat free and salt free, so it's easy on your heart and blood pressure. How can something that tastes so good be so good for you?





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ESTATE COLOMBIAN. A noteworthy blend of Colombia's finer beans. It has a rich flavor yet a remarkably smooth taste. Available in whole bean & freshly ground

MAXWELL HOUSE PRIVATE COLLECTION IS ALSO AVAILABLE IN FIVE OTHER DISTINCTIVE VARIETIES.



## THE FAST FOOD BREAKFAST

Remember those hamburger stands in the early fifties that had "eggs, toast & coffee for 59¢" printed on a paper plate hanging in the window? Believe it or not, that was the first sign of what has now become an American institution the fast-food breakfast.

In 1972, the Egg McMuffin ushered in the modern age for the fast-food morning meal. This hand-held egg and muffin combination was a major break-fast breakthrough. Imagine having all your favorite breakfast tooks put into one, neat, handy package—without the worry of a knife and fork. Someone had finally made a convenient breakfast that could be eaten on the road. That point is nicely cited by well-known food consultation of the country of the properties of the properties of the country of the properties of the

But people are finding that fast foods aren't only found in fast-food restaurants. Bakery products are popular fast food items. The continental breakfast has taken on new meaning with the introduction of croissants, bagels and bialys. And in New York City, mega muffins, weighing in at about half a pound each, are the latest breakfast

Although restaurants, grocers and bakeries flaunt their fast-food wares, one doesn't have to leave home in search of breakfast convenience. In a study cited by the National Frozen Food Association, retail sales figures of frozen breakfast entrees are expected to hit 8972 million in the next five years.

One of the reasons for the boom in frozen breakfast demand can be attributed to the microwave oven. And thanks to the microwave, the "breakfast hour" has been condensed, giving us home-cooked meals in minutes, even seconds.

### NEW LIFESTYLES NEW EATING PATTERNS

In the Suburbs. When you see the Chardavoyne family eating breakfast together, you know it's Sunday morning-the only time they share a meal as a family. Other days, everyone's on a different schedule. Bill Chardavoyne leaves for work at 6 a.m. after he's gulped down a glass of juice and a vitamin pill. The children, Dana and Adam, eat cereal before going off to school, and their mother Chris usually has breakfast after everyone's left the house. "I'll have a cup of coffee and a muffin. On occasion, my friends and I will go out to breakfast," Saturdays are filled running errands and taking care of the gardening. By the time Sunday rolls around, the Chardavovnes are relaxing over their morning meal with bagels, rolls and the Sunday paper, Sound familiar?







Above: Buzzy
Galietta (left) and
Jo Galietta (right).
At left:
The Chardavoynes,
Chris, Dana, Bill
and Adam
(left to right).
Below:
Adam Cohen.



The Young At Heart. Buzzy and Jo Galietta are seniors in the prime of their lives. At 72, Buzzy is retired, so he enjovs a leisurely breakfast every morning with his wife Jo, who's 69. "Breakfast is where we sit together and plan our day," Jo says. "It's also an important part of our health regimen. We're both on low-cholesterol diets, so what we eat is important. We always have juice and a variety of high-bran and fiber cereals with skim milk. Once a week, we'll have eggs, "Eating breakfast gives us stamina and energy," says Jo, who loves to dance. "Especially when we're out on that dance floor doing a Lindy,'

#### Credits

Contributors: Stephen Brewer, Mark Gauthier, Sharon Kapnick, Marisa Marks, Susan Purdy, D. K. Symmers

Edited by Barbara Isard, U.S. Manager, Special Sections, TIME

Design by Mary K. Baumann

## POWER BREAKFAST THE MEAL THAT PAYS OFF

These days, busy executives are waking up at the crack of dawn to conduct business at breakfast. Why, you may ask, would somebody who's already too busy want to add another meeting to his or her day?

day members of the breakfast crowd feel nor focused in the morning. Says one female advertising executive in Los Angeles, "I'd rather have a busy meeting at breakfast than at dinner. You get the fuel you need to face the day, and you can accomplish a lot while your mind is clear, before the phone starts ringing and other intrusions of the day begin pouring in."

The breakfast brigade talks only about business, keeping chitchat to a minimum. And executives have discovered that meeting at breakfast is more productive than a three-martini lunch.

Where do breakfasting executives go for their most productive round-table discussions? Many like restaurants with plenty of elbow room and tables that are far enough apart to keep competitors from overhearing their conversations.

Postmaster General Preston Robert Tisch, former president of the Loews Corporation, coined the term "power breakfast" ten years ago to describe the meetings he held at the Loews-owned Regency Hotel in New York. "I use breakfast for business meetings because it takes less time and I can get a lot more accomplished," me says.

Many executives on out-of-town trips also find they save time by having a quick business breakfast instead of a long lunch. Says John Schulman, a Lordangeles attorney, "A breakfast meeting indicates a degree of seriousness in what you're doing, because to start working at 7:30 or 8:00 a.m. shows you're really interested."

For the last ten years, the power breakfast phomenon has grown steadily. At restaurants throughout the U.S., you'll see the breakfast crowd wheeling and dealing, talking about business deals worth millions. To move the negotiations forward, restaurants often provide business diners with complimentary tools of the trade—pencils, pads, calculators, cassette tape recorders, cordlessphones, and the daily newspaper.



The reason the power breakfast has become a popular ritual: "Breakfast doesn't drag on." says Douglas Kirkland.

a globe-trotting photographer. "You have a finite time for doing business, and you feel fresh and alert. You're not competing with other things that have happened earlier in the day."

In a recent New York Times article, professor Mervin A. King of the London School of Economics admitted his extraordinary passion for breakfast. He sets aside every Wednesday morning for food and financial discussions saying, "When I was a graduate student at Harvard, I learned about showers and central heating. Ten years later, I learned about breakfast meetings. These are America's three great contributions to civilization."





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#### Press

#### A Guru for Women over 40

Frances Lear launches a new magazine for a neglected generation

C heek resting gently on folded arms, the attractive, dark-eyed woman stares from the page with that familiar cover-girl gaze. But wait. Aren't those wrinkles on her forehead? And creases in her cheek? "At last!" declares the cover line. "A magazine for the woman who wasn't born yesterday." At last, indeed. After a tempestuous 21/2-year start-up that had Manhattan media circles sniffing with disdain, readers this week will see the first issue of Lear's. The brainchild and namesake of Frances Lear, former wife of Hollywood Producer Norman Lear, the new magazine is dedicated to the proposition that "women over 40yesterday's 'mad housewives'-are today's sanest, most creative, most interesting Americans

interesting Americans. In 1985, as her 30-year marriage was falling apart (she has two grown children), Lear decided to move to New York City to pursue an idea for a magazine. Bolstered by her \$112 million divorce settlement, she has considered to the says firmly, sitting in her cluttered Park Avenue office. "If it doesn't make money on schedule, we won't make money on schedule, we won't continus it." Behind that calculus.

however, lies a crusade. After years of watching women get pushed aside at an age when many men reach their prime, Lear, 64, wants to change the way women over 40 perceive themselves and are perceived by others.

"Personally, professionally and creatively, these may well be the best three years of my life," she enthuses. "I am experiencing a rebirth." Such themes—independence, job fulfillment and spiritual re-

Reborn as an editor: Lear in her New York City office: the first issue

newal—are central elements of *Lear's*. Divided into five sections, including "Pleasures"

sections, including "Pleasures" and "Self Center," the premiere issue features an interview with Philippine President Corazon Aquino and original fiction by Doris Lessing. There are also inspirational profiles of half a dozen exemplars of the Lear's woman, a combination of elegance, success and self-awareness. Most revolutionary are the fashion passes, which features

models ranging from 33 to 60. "We are breaking the perception that age is dowdy," says Fashion and Beauty Director China Machado, 58, once of *Harper's Bazaar*. The

only problem she notes is with the "male photogs . . . The poor guys are taking

some time to adjust.

So did the editorial and advertising communities. When Lear set out, media types fed on her large fees for articles and dined out on her atrocities: editorial meetings attended by her masseuse, hairdresser and manicurist; mercurial changes of mind; an interview with a job applicant at which Lear announced that if she had such a résumé she would consider committing suicide. But it went both ways. One early employee remembers an army of consultants, "men with boiled-out faces who said 'gals' and complained about 'old women.' So you see what the attitude was and how she had to fight." Isolde Motley, who was wooed from an editorship at Arts & Antiques and then fired before she even started working, nonetheless remains sympathetic. "I never met an entrepre-

neurial publisher who wasn't an egocentric maniac," Motley says. "She has a lot of guts and a great sense of mission."

Lear is a manic-depressive and reports she is on lithium to control the condition. But she does not blame her disorder for the magazine's stormy evolution. "In the beginning, there was a lack of experience on my part," she

concedes. "It was difficult for me to make important decisions." According to several on the 35-member staff. she settled down as the magazine neared takeoff. Initially a bimonthly with a 200,000 circulation, it is supposed to go monthly by 1990 and ultimately grow to 1 million subscribers. Can it? Executive Vice President Marc Liu reports that direct-mail solicitations have brought a high 5% return rate. The first issue contains 77 pages of paid advertising, including such blue chips as Cadillac, BMW and Volvo. And, of course, there are the current census projections: by 1990, more adult women will be over 40 than under. Says George Hunt, ad manager for Chrysler: "They've got it all together for the over-35, upscale woman.

with the magazine and with what she considers the start of the second half of her life. She is already considering expanding into retailing. "These women require different services: makeup, clothing." she says, "I would like to be the guru for women over 40." So far, she has the field to herself. — By Lusence Zuckerman. Reported by Kathleen Brady and Martha Smilgs/New York.

Lear believes she has barely begun,

#### Extra: Post Saved!

The showdown had all the breathless drama that readers of the tabloid New York Post (circ. 480,000) have come to expect. Australianborn Media Baron Rupert Murdoch, selling the Post to

comply with a federal ban on owning a newspaper and broadcast station in the same city, had threatened to shut down the paper unless unions agreed to \$24 million in cost reductions. Murdoch said he needed the cuts to complete the



sale of the paper to New York Real Estate Developer Peter Kalikow for \$37 million.

But as a 2 p.m. Friday deadline neared, the Post and its unions remained \$3 million apart. Rather than stop the presses, Murdoch agreed to stop the clock. At 1:50 a.m. Saturday, the unions consented to \$21 million in concessions and the properties of the \$21 million in concessions.

sions over the next three years and Murdoch agreed to make a \$3 million contribution to restore some pay cuts for remaining employees. The agreement saved the Post from printing its final edition after 187 years.



## **Space**

### **Can They Escape Next Time?**

Probably not, but a fighting chance is better than nothing

W hen the shuttle Discovery roars off the pad at the Kennedy Space Center next August to begin NASA's climb back into manned space flight, one thought will be going through everyone's mind: How safe is the crew? Despite the best efforts of engineers and investigators. there is no way to know for sure, so NASA is building in a special safety factor. This week Navy parachutists at Edwards Air Force Base in California will begin testing the second of two newly designed shuttle escape systems. The first has already been put through its paces, and the one that works best will be installed in time to give Discovery's crew a fighting chance to bail out of the ship in case of emergency. That should make the crew breathe easier

Or maybe not. The bailout devices consist of rockets that whip the astronauts clear of the shuttle one by one, and a pole that allows them to slide out until they are clear of the craft's wing. But both are designed to be used only when the shuttle is flying more or less level, at altitudes of up to 20,000 ft .- well inside the earth's atmosphere. That might do some good in a mission aborted before going into orbit, or in the case of an anticipated crash landing. However, says ex-Shuttle Astronaut Donald Peterson, "it's like putting an emergency escape system in a car-but you have to be driving between 29 and 33 m.p.h., at night, on an empty road." Needless to say, neither system would have helped the Challenger crew

Then why not do more? Explains Na-Sa's William Chandler, who heads the crew escape project at Houston's Johnson Space Center: "The bottom line is, there's not a heck of a lot of protection we can provide without paying a significant penalty in time and weight." Retooling the orbiter to include a more versatile system, such as ejection seats, could shut down the shuttle fleet for four more years. "We'd run the risk of never flying again," says Chandler. "The next spacecraft anyone designs will have an escape system designed into it," declares Discovery Crew Member Pinky Nelson. "But for now, if we want to fly, we've got to live with what we've sot."

As far as they go, both new systems look adequate. Each is designed to get astronauts safely clear of the shuttle's fuselage and wings so they can parachute to earth. In a disaster-say, the loss of an engine-the crew will trigger explosives to iettison the escape-hatch cover, then exit one by one. If the rocket system is in place, each astronaut will be yanked from the ship with 2,000 lbs. of thrust. Otherwise, they will hook onto the telescoping pole. which will extend through the door, and let gravity and airflow pull them down and out of harm's way. Both the astronauts and NASA favor the pole: it avoids the danger of rocket fuel in the cabin and takes up less space. Of course, entering a high-speed stream of air blowing by at extreme altitudes poses many perils. But, says Astronaut Nelson, something is better than nothing. "It enhances our chances of survival if we have to ditch," he says. "It makes me feel a lot better.

The original Columbia orbiter had ejection seats for its first five flights; they were removed to save weight and because the agency decided the shuttle had proved itself safe. That too easily ignored the obvious: even after 25 missions, the shuttle is still an experimental craft, and space flight is still an experimental craft, and space flight is still fair from being routine or safe. The astronauts who fly it are essentially test plots. And in the aviation industry, that job is synonymous with danger:

—By Michael D. Lemonick.

Reported by Jay Peterzell/Washington and Richard Woodbury/Houston

### Health

#### **Sweat Cure**

Exercise may prevent cancer

If lower blood pressure and a better mood are not inenctive enough for starting to exercise regularly, consider this scientists now believe that lifelong physical exertion also protects against the control of the protects against the same than the same that the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancent of Science reported that athletic women cut their risk of breast and uterine cancer in half and of the most common form of diabetes by two-thirds. Says Harraval Reproductive Bloologist Rose Frisch, only the same process of the same process of the same than the properties of the same process of the same than the same process of the same proce

Researchers believe the benefits occur because exercise shuts down the production of certain reproductive hormones in both men and women. The effect is more pronounced, however, in females, Vigorous training, for example, can temporarily lengthen or even eliminate a runner's menstrual cycle. The response appears to have a healthy effect. In a separate study of ten rowers at Harvard, Frisch found that active women produce a less potent form of estrogen than their sedentary counterparts. Result: breast and uterine tumors that depend on the hormone cannot develop as easily. In addition, athletes lack excess body fat, which can predispose people to diabetes.

els can lead to temporary infertility. Still, the benefits of exercise seem to outweigh the risks, particularly for teenagers. Frisch notes that very active girls started menstruating around 15, three years later than average. The advantages, she believes, are twofold: better health later in life and a lower risk of teenage pregnancy.

Frisch cautions that low estrogen lev-



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custioned from top to bottom, the support is like nothing you've experienced before. But, rather than just read about Comfortech, we suggest a visit to your Florsheim dealer instead. That way you can experience the pleasure for yourself. And with our 30-day 'no risk' offer, there's no better time than now.



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### Living

### It's Hip, It's Safe, It's Back

Riding high on a conservative tide, the white shirt returns

Post-preppies hang them loose over blue jeans. Clubhopping Angelenos sport them with black sweat pants, tennis shoes and a man's oversize blazer, while budding Wall Street aces tuck them under red suspenders. Corporate CEOs never took them off. They're chic; they're hip; they're the very cutting edge of fashion. And they look great with a tan. Please welcome that old standby, and new mainstay, white shirts.

Long derided as a symbol of button-down regimentation fit for only a nerd or an IBM lifer. white shirts are back in style. At Wilkes Bashford, San Francisco's tony clothiers, sales have boomed as executives invest in convenience. "A line of white shirts in the closet is comforting to face when you're in a hurry observes Salesman Jay Haley. "They go with everything, so you can just pull them out of the

closet with no fuss and bam! you're out the door looking good.'

Some fashion watchers attribute the resurgence to the influence of Italian designers like Giorgio Armani, whose textured black and grav suits are best highlighted by white shirts. "There is nothing more crisp and effective with a dressy suit than a white shirt," says Phil Borntrager, a buyer at upscale Chicago clothier Mark Shale's. Others see white's return as emblematic of a conservative trend in power dressing. "People are looking for a lower profile, and that includes the way they dress," explains Jody Kuss of the haberdashery Barneys New York



Whatever the reason, the comeback has been impressive. Between the tiedyed '60s and the striped-tie mid-'80s, sales of plain-vanilla shirts hovered at around 20% of the dress-shirt market, down from a postwar high of 80%. Now the percentages are moving up again. For the past year and a half, the white shirt has been the best-selling item at Mark Shale's, and at New York City's trendy Bloomingdale's white shirts now comprise 65% of designer solid-color dress shirts, up from 50% two years ago.

Part of the appeal to professionals is conformity. In the cold gray dawn of corporate America's morning after, it seems

rude to look rosy in pink, which, along with other solid colors, is sliding out of favor. Says Chicago Accountant Edgar L. King, 68: "We financial types have to present a good, clean look, and I've traditionally relied on the white shirt to

complement that look." The white shirt's popularity stretches down the career ladder too. Two years ago Charles McCabe traded in his college jeans and sneakers for something more suited to San Francisco's vested financial district. "I didn't know what I was doing, so I figured white shirts were safe, says McCabe, 26, who works in commercial real estate. "The last thing I wanted to do was

make a fashion statement."

But that may be unavoidable, given all the styles currently available. Like cars. white shirts come with an array of customizing options, including button, snap or cutaway Windsor collars, as well as dobby weaves, textured herringbones and jacquards. Among the latest variations are snowy shirts with thin, widely spaced purple or teal stripes. Says Barbara Kirk, a men's-furnishings buyer for the Seattle-based

Nordstom stores: "A plain white shirt isn't just a plain white shirt anymore." Nor is it cheap: at Wilkes Bashford, the price can reach \$235 for a French-cuff Charvet shirt, made of Sea Island cotton and imported from Paris.

The trend is even being felt in Japan, where the word for a dress shirt of any color is waishatsu (white shirt). Comme des Garçons, a stylish Japanese clothing firm noted for its somber blacks and grays, is this year featuring waishatsu that for a change really are white. - By Michael Walsh.

Reported by Elizabeth Rudulph/New York and Dennis Wyss/San Francisco

#### Please Turn Off the Dog

Now that you've had your frozen diet gourmet TV dinner and played checkers with the computer, what other experience is left to simulate? Would you believe



a video dog? A video cat? Believe it. No need to change the kitty litter or take Woofer for a walk. For about \$20, Creative Programming Inc. of New York City is offering brief videotapes that provide the "full rich experience of owning your own pet without the mess and inconvenience of the real thing."

The video hound, a furry mutt, fetches video bones and 'responds" to a few commands (if given in a predeter-

mined order). The felines frolic with balls of string. "There's no responsibility." says Stephen Bruce.

whose New York City boutique Serendipity 3 sells the tapes. "When you're finished you can just go right back to your work." Robert Muller of Jackson, Miss., bought his wife Julie a video

dog for Christmas and enjoyed showing it off to relatives. "We got to say, 'Look, we just got our video dog. and it's already housebroken.

The company won't release figures, but it claims the tapes are selling well, mostly through catalogs. Meanwhile, pet shop owners profess unconcern. Says one Manhattan doggie vendor: "The next thing you know they'll come out with video husbands and



next: video girl-friends and boyfriends. Imagine, the rich experience . without the mess and inconvenience of the real thing." Video Date, anyone?

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He will go down in art history as the man who immortalized the Campbell's soup can, but Andy Warhol has left another legacy: one of the 20th century's most wide-ranging and eclectic collections. The pop artist, who died last year at 58. left behind a vast assortment of antiques, paintings and whatnot that will be auctioned at Sotheby's in New York City for ten days beginning April 23. The six-volume. 81/2-lb. catalog went on sale last week at \$95. Among its 10,000 items: a 1974 Rolls Royce; Fiesta dinnerware; a ceremonial dance blanket from the Tlingit Indians; The Wind, a canvas by Briton David Forrester Wilson (1873-1950); and a collection of 313 watches ranging from a platinum Cartier's model to a

Former Playboy Bunny Carrie Leigh, 24, is hopping mad. The voluptuous model says her ex-lover Hugh Hefner reneged on his promise to buy her a house in Malibu and continue financial support that included birthday presents determined by multiplying her age by \$1,000. Their breakup. she implies, was caused by Playboy Cover Girl Jessica Hahn, who has lived in Hefner's mansion since November, Last week in Los Angeles, Leigh topped off her original \$5 mil-

Flintstones Fred 'n' Dino plas-

tic digital. The predicted take:

\$40 million

lion palimony suit by filing for an additional \$5 million in punitive damages. "He is saying very hurtful things about me," she says. "It is like the pot calling the kettle black. Counters Hef: "There is probably nobody in America who has made it more publicly clear. for the past 25 years, that I do not plan on getting married again." A position no doubt understood by his new squeeze, January Playmate of the Month Kim-

Bad, as all hipsters know, can also mean good. But when it





Pop artifacts: Warhol in 1983 with dinnerware and The Wind

comes to Michael Jackson, a lot of music fans think Bad is positively the worst. In a poll of 23,000 readers released by Rolling Stone this week, the Gloved One hit rock bottom in eight categories, including "worst male singer," "worst dressed," "worst album [Bad]" and "worst single | Bad]." The backlash has



Back issue: Hefner with Leigh during better days

more to do with the singer's quirky personality than his music, says Rolling Stone Music Editor David Wild: "People are responding negatively to his image and to the hype. The category he should have won is 'worst image' or 'least understood." Even so, Jackson's album has sold 4 million copies and spawned

three Top Ten singles, which isn't half bad.

> conservative as her politics, but that didn't keep British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher from joining Actress Anjelica Huston and TV Newswoman Diane Sawyer as one of the world's Best Dressed Women of 1987-88. In a poll of international fashion designers and editors that was announced last week, the PM was cited for her "classic, middle-of-the-road elegance." Thatcher believes "there is nothing to beat a good British suit." And although her

Her style may be as

favorite color is fuchsia, her idea of a party dress is, naturally, something in Tory blue.

Oscar took on a foreign accent last week as Hollywood announced its nominations for the 60th annual Academy Awards. For the first time, no American is on the list of nominees for Best Director, which features two Britons, John Boorman (Hope and Glory) and Adrian Lyne (Fatal Attraction): a Canadian. Norman Jewison (Moonstruck); a Swede, Lasse Hallström (My Life as a Dog); and an Italian, Bernardo Bertolucci (The Last Emperor). Snubbed again: Steven Spielberg (Empire of the Sun). On the acting front, William Hurt received his third nomination in as many years, for Broadcast News. The Last Emperor led the movie pack with nine nominations. Bertolucci, who shot his lavish epic in China with four different actors playing his protagonist at various ages, searched for months before Richard Vuu, 6, of Los Angeles showed up at auditions for the role of the child emperor Pu Yi. "I saw this little, dignified king standing there,



Emperor's Bertolucci and Vuu

Bertolucci remembers. The movie, he maintains, "has no real nationality. The audience sitting in the darkness undergoes a kind of collective dream." -By Guy D. Garcia. Reported by David E. Thigpen/ New York, with other bureaus

berley Conrad, 24.



I the Olympics, for every jubilant Pirmin Zurtriggen sking to the limit, there is a devastated Dan Jansen suffering to the extreme. One suggests a bright ribbon, the other a black armband. But both are important players. They need each other to describe the Winter Games opening week, with its fat in the sir, its head in its hands, a grin days to go.

As touchstones, the Swiss downhiller and the Wisconsin speed skater could have been a little tidier: Zurbriggen, 25, triumphed and fell: Jansen, 22, fell and

"fell again. The death of his sister on the first morning of competition, following a long siege of cancer, made Jansen's 500-meter and 1,000-meter events seem both less and more significant. "Maybe," he admitted at the last, "there is a slight sense of relief that I can go home now and be with my family." And yet he planned to return after the funeral to cheer Eric Flaim and the other Americans.

They needed encouragement. By the ature of most refrigerated sports, the Winter Games are understandably a Nordic and European bailiwick. But North American pickings have never been so pitiful. After an entire week of schussing. sliding and skating, Canada and the U.S. were still fighting over a solitary gold medal, ultimately lifted from the Canadian Brian Orser by the U.S. figure skater Brian Boitano to the gentle dismay of the hometown Calgarians. The Americans had to plow their way through nearly half the Games to reap just two medals: the 1,500-meter silver taken by Flaim, and a bronze won with a bobble and a splat by Figure Skaters Peter Oppegard and Jill Watson. The U.S. pair looked thrilled anyway, and the gold-medal spectacle of Soviet 5-ft. 11-in. Sergei Grinkov tossing 4-ft. 11-in. Ekaterina Gordeeva into the rafters enthralled almost everyone.

For the longest while, it seemed the Yanks didn't know how to win or lose. Speed skaters sore at the world threatened to hire attorneys, and a few clubhouse lawyers were pushing bobsleds. Crosscountry skiers straggled in and blamed the wax; slow lugers cursed the friction tape on their sleds. Acting defensively only in the press conferences, America's fly-and-die hockey team spoiled rousing 7-5 losses to Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. with rancid asides. "If they hadn't got that lucky second goal," Coach Dave Peterson said of the Czechs, "they might have tanked it." And the Soviets. he muttered into ABC's open microphone, "had to cheat to win.

In contrast, Czecheslovakia took an opening loss to West Germany with a gruff shrug. "They played with a bigger beart," said Jan Starsi, the Czeche direct and wonderful coach. Surviving both the U.S. and its eight-year-old memory of the Lake Placid miracle, Soviet Assistant U.S. and the sight-year-old memory of the Jan Start of the Carlon of the Carl

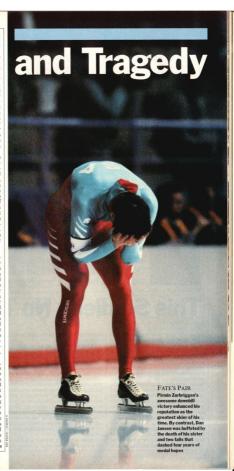
third-period comeback of the Americans, he added, "We forgot that here in North America, specifically in the U.S., they fight to the very end."

Not until the bad breaks began to overwhelm the bad sports did a few graceful U.S. instincts take hold. Downhill Racer Pam Fletcher, 25, missed her precious chance, when she crashed the day before the event into a skiing maintenance worker ("like hitting a tree") and broke her leg. After a brief cry, Fletcher was smiling again. "You can't have everything, you know," she said. "Where would you put it?" No American man or woman had ever finished as high as sixth in an Olympic luge, and when Bonny Warner moved up from the eighth position on her final run, she shivered with pleasure. "It's a warm feeling," said Warner, 25, "like the sled has little feelers on it, and it can tell you're happy, so it goes fast

Happiness at the Olympics has always been a relative matter of little feelers. Eddie ("the Eagle") Edwards, the ski-jumping plasterer from England, spoke for all the Games' odd fellows when he declared. "To have jumped and still be alive-it's a thrill." As if Edwards were the grand Finn Matti Nykänen himself, the Brit writers have claimed Eddie as their new knight of the woeful countenance (not to mention feeble eyesight and flapping elbows). What choice did they have? Out at Calgary's quaint hall for curling, the Scots were finishing last in another game they invented. It was pretty exciting curling, though the grandmothers knitting in the stands never dropped any stitches.

f the Olympics in general seemed a little spread out and stretched out, every venue and event had its delights, like the wooden shoes of the little Dutch girls echoing their clomps in the speed skaters' Oval. On Mount Allan, where Zurbriggen and Swiss Teammate Peter Müller drew most of the early glare, a softer scene involved the sport's former custodians, the Austrians, Leonhard Stock, 29, the fifth-stringer who replaced fabled Franz Klammer in 1980, then made it worse by winning the downhill gold, finished an unexpected fourth last week and was finally embraced. Two days later, when Zurbriggen found a gate between his skis in the combined downhillslalom, it was an Austrian, Hubert Strolz, atop the podium once more

With three trips left to the mountain, regal Zurbriggen expects to rise again. On the Games' penultimate night, Figure Skater Katarina Witt will look to become the queen. At an audience that attracted the most notetakers of the week, the East German champion told her sweet stories in English and German: "I started skating when I was five years old, and my mummy went to the rink with me, and the coach put skates on me. It was quite wet on the ice . . . My mummy said, if I fall, my tights are going to get wet. So maybe that's why I learned to skate well." But Debi Thomas also started at five. She will be there too, on -By Tom Callahan the muscle







DUEL ON ICE
Ending a ten-year war Saturday
night, Boitano nailed his moves
with new elegance and old
strength. Orser, also in military
gear, came tantalizingly close



Brian Boitano brought home America's first gold and with an extra edge of technique defeated his rival, Canada's Brian Orser. But the winning margin was a narrow one. In the pairs event, two young Soviets glowed their way to victory

### This Soldier's No Toy

hree days. Two Brians. One gold medal. So the tense scene was set as America's Brian Boitano and Canada's Brian Orser faced off Saturday evening in the Olympic Saddledome. The compulsory figures and short program had decided nothing. The final verdict would, after all, come down to 41/2 lonely minutes on the ice. True to form, the much touted similarities between the two friends and rivals continued to the very last. Apparently they knew there was a war on, because each was dressed military-style, Boitano in blue, Orser in crimson, both their costumes brightened by gold braid. Each skated everything he had, bringing the best of his skill and grace to the impossibly tense moment. Their clash was the most exciting men's final in memory. When it was all done. Orser had captured the competition's only

perfect 6.0. But Boitano had laid claim to the gold.

While the men's contest of wills remained undecided until the last score flashed, the outcome of the pairs competition was all but foreordained. The incandescent young Soviet couple, Ekaterina Gordeeva and Sergei Grinkov, secured a healthy lead during the short program. then skated away from the pack with a seemingly flawless performance in the longer freestyle event. The Soviets, who have claimed every Olympic pairs gold medal since 1964, also placed second and fourth. The top U.S. pair, Jill Watson and Peter Oppegard, survived an awkward spill early in the long program to capture the bronze and win America's first medal

Boitano could be counted on to enrich the trophy trove, but as he went into the final program, the hue was anything but certain. In addition, as the men approached the long segment, which counts for 50% of the total score. Boitano held the narrowest of leads. His stronger showing in the painstaking figures (worth 30%) gave him the edge, despite Orser's higher marks in the short program (worth just 20%). But that segment, lasting no longer than 21/4 minutes, was a boost for both men. Orser delivered a jazzy Fred Astaire send-up that he later called "my best short program ever in competition." Boitano was also pleased, humbly mouthing "Thank you, God" just seconds after completing an elegant program that featured a cocky young skater at play

As Boitano waited to take the ice Saturday night, all traces of that assumed arrogance had vanished. Hovering near the edges of the rink, he blew his nose repeat-

edly and nervously tightened his laces. Later he would describe the battle raging in his head as he skated to the center of the rink, one voice goading, "This is it! This is it!" while another soothed, "You know what to do." When the elaborate music of Carmine Coppola's Napoleon filled the Saddledome, Boitano inhaled deeply, then focused his 16 years of training on the moment

Soundly landing the first jump, his trademark 'Tano triple, which adds the gravitational challenge of an upstretched arm to a triple Lutz. Boitano moved through a quick series of military gestures. His recent emphasis on choreography was paying off. Then he glided into a difficult combination jump. As he nailed the landing, his choreographer, Sandra Bezic. started jumping up and down. Even Boitano seemed to let go some of his tension. Only in the final moments, however, did he indulge his mounting exuberance. As he swirled into his final spin, he broke into a radiant smile. Then he came to a triumphant halt-and fought back tears of joy

Orser also skated brilliantly, so powerfully in fact that four of the nine judges rated his performance higher than Boitano's. Clearly the Canadian audience adored him. During his program, the cheers were so loud that it was sometimes impossible to hear Shostakovich's The Bolt. As Orser finished, teddy bears and hundreds of flowers rained onto the ice When he learned that he had again, as in 1984, placed second, he fought back tears and said, "I'm disappointed. What can I say?

There were other setbacks. Alexander Fadeev, a Soviet skater who had been touted for the bronze, stumbled twice, enabling his younger teammate. Viktor Petrenko, to take the medal. And Canadian Kurt Browning braved the one quadruple jump of the Olympic competition, only to fall. U.S. Skater Christopher Bowman finished a solid seventh, and Teammate Paul Wylie, who recovered from two early spills to hand in a graceful performance, placed tenth

If the men's competition will be remembered as the final showdown in a battle that has set the Brians blade to blade since 1978, the pairs event will live as the moment when the world gave its heart to a tiny wisp of a girl named Katya. Not quite 5 ft. and not quite 90 lbs., Ekaterina Gordeeva was not quite like



WATCH HER FLY! Ekaterina Gordeeva held aloft by her partner, Sergei Grinkov. in their victorious long program at the Saddledome, On and off the ice, lithe, exuberant Katya stole the Calgary show

anyone else in the Saddledome. Fragile. with a smile that comes from over the rainbow, Katya has the gift of making her audience happy. Part of her secret may be that glorious smile. She has superb technique based on first-rate ballet training. but she makes even a triple throw look spontaneous. She has the innocence and sheer energy that enable her, like earlier East bloc sweethearts Olga Korbut and Nadia Comaneci, to slay hearts on both sides of the Great Power divide.

Oh, yes. She also has a partner-that handsome chap Grinkov, who tossed Gordeeva so effortlessly around the rink. Twinned by Moscow's Central Army Sports Club six years ago, neither has ever had another partner. Yet they spend little time together off the ice. Grinkov is 21, and his tastes run to books and ice hockey, while Gordeeva likes to collect toys, sew and surprise her teammates with batches of home-baked cookies. "We just practice together," says Grinkov. Romantics can take heart that perhaps it is just the age difference. Gordeeva is, after all, only 16. With her wide-eyed fawn's gaze, she is still a giggly high school girl, while Grinkov is a self-assured college man.

On the ice they are one. Skating to the lilting strains of Chopin and Mendelssohn, Gordeeva and Grinkov flowed balletically from one move to the next, perfectly synchronized at every turn. The marks in their long program testified to their near perfection: in two sets of ratings from nine judges for technical and artistic merit, the Soviet sensations earned 14 scores of 5.9. It could have caused a furor that they received not a single perfect 6.0. (Katya's smile dimmed when the scoreboard turned up 5.8s and 5.9s after their short program.) But no other pair received a 5.9 in any part of the competition, assuring Gordeeva and Grinkov the gold they so richly deserved.

The dimpled doll and her gallant prince with the chiseled cheekbones simply skated the other pairs off the ice. Even Silver Medalists Elena Valova and Oleg Vasiliev, a married pair who won the gold in 1984, had a bad moment when he teetered on a triple toe loop. But as much as skaters like to complain about "bad ice," Olympic jitters seemed the larger evil. While audiences were able to lose themselves in the grace and fluidity of Gordeeva and Grinkov's confident performance, it was a rare break. Most of the evening, spec-

tators held their breath as the other pairs wobbled their way through tricky throws and mirroring jumps. Says U.S. Skater Natalie Seybold, who with her brother Wayne finished tenth: "There's too much emphasis on throws and triples.

The emphasis on difficulty also took its toll in the men's competition. But many of the skaters who failed to meet their own high expectations will undoubtedly be back in 1992, staking a more mature claim to the medals ahead. For the two Brians, this is the end of a long-traveled road. Both say they will retire from amateur skating next month after the world championships. For Gordeeva and Grinkov, this is only the beginning. Whatever future competitions may bring, Calgary will always ammon up the haunting memory of Brian Boitano's triumphant tears and Katva's elusive smile. By Jill Smolowe.

Reported by Ellie McGrath/Calgary



Swiss superstar Zurbriggen carves out a gallant downhill win, then stumbles; West German Marina Kiehl beats the best for her gold

## Three, Two, One ... Airborne!

ind blew so cold and hard at the rocky summit of Mount Allan Sunday morning, when Alpine ski racing was supposed to blast off with the men's downhill, that the question was not whether the event would be canceled for the day but whether gatekeepers and photographers not protected by the start house could survive until officials admitted that the mountain gods were in no mood for a ski race. Back at ABC's hype central, talkers with dead air to fill turned to-who else?-Dr. Ruth, TV's advice giver to the sexlorn. Bearing in mind that the downhill demands superb reflexes and great stamina, did she counsel sex for the athletes in the 24 hours before the race? "Vell," said this ever reasonable sage in her schlagobers accent, making love all night wasn't a good idea, "but a qvickie is O.K."

That settled, to everyone's relief, althlets and onlookers conserved stamina for another 24 hours and tried again. Next morning the weather was benign. Only the racecourse was horrific: at the top an icy centrifuge of step, high-speed turns, and past the midpoint, where racer still in their sike carried speeds of 80 m.p.h., a snaky, relatively flat descent over jarring, the control of the control of the control of the post of the control of the control of the post of the control of the control of the down that have downful was the "most difficult in the world," worse than Kitzbühel's thunderous Hahnenkamu.

Worse is better, of course, for the very best racers. No trifler with a magical pair of skis was about to steal a gold medal from Switzerland's hard man, big Peter Müller. This gristly 30-year-old downhiller, last year's world champion in his specialty, had finished second at Sarajevo four years ago. Now, starting from the unfavorable No. 1 position, which meant having to carve tracks through the remains of a light overnight snowfall, he showed the world a run-2 min. .14 sec -that none of the next dozen racers could touch. Italy's 6-ft. 4-in. Michael Mair, a downhill winner earlier in the season, skidded off the course. Girardelli and West Germany's Markus Wasmeier, two superb all-event men, skied with insufficient fury and finished sixth and ninth.

Then the split times for the 14th skier began flashing. Jirmin Zurbriggen, Müller's teammate, rival and mirror impage—a cool, reserved fellow who skis with a risk taker's wild flast—east one seek state of the stat

e stayed that way for another day and a half, winning the downhill part of a misbegotten event called the combined, not seen in the Olympics for 40 years. This oddity celebrates mediocrity by parlaying a shortened downhill, started below the regular downhill's two fierce initial bends, and two runs of an easier version of the slalom. a fast-turning dash through flagged gates. On the first slalom run Zurbriggen, an allevent virtuoso in whom there is a fine gate skier crying for practice time, tied for sixth behind several slalom slitherers. He led the combined on points. Then, needing only a safe second run to win, he charged too hard, hooked a gate and fell within sight of the finish.

"I was totally surprised when I found the gate between my skis. It made me real mad." he said afterward. But an hour later, hunched over a buffet lunch in a hotel restaurant with his teammates, he pulled his long face up from the table to do just one interview, with a TIME correspondent. "O.K., action!" this shyest and most decent of ski heroes yelled out, trying to cheer the others with him. He declined to blame the weather. "Sure it was windy, but it had no effect on my racing." Or the course. "It was an easy slope, not too hard for me. I was going so fast, and you never know on slalom." Soon the rare mistake was behind him, and he was talking of his admiration for the great



Swedish skier Ingemar Stenmark, against whom he expects to race in the slalom and giant slalom this week. From Stenmark, he said, "I learned that when you want to make power, you must be quiet. Then you explode." But, he added ruefully, "you cannot go over your limit."

Hubert Strolz, a good Austrian slalomist who has never been a star, took the gold in the combined with a respectable fifth in downhill and a so-so seventh in slalom. As golds go, it was a lowly medal, but the Austrians, humbled lately by the mighty Swiss teams, were grateful for it.

And the U.S. skiers? Looking at so-so from the underside, as expected. Buried chin-deep in drifts of analysis. There was little need for brooding after the glorious Sarajevo Games, when Debbie Armstrong and Christin Cooper won their gold and silver in the giant slalom, Phil and Steve Mahre a gold and a silver in slalom, and Bill Johnson, to expert eyes more scamster than skier, pulled his lovely downhill win. Now in the small traveling circus of ski racing it was being said that young skiers in the U.S. were too regimented, ran too many drills and never learned to free-ski, then were packed off to ski academies where obscure bad things were done to them. Ski resorts in the U.S., unlike those in Europe, fear lawsuits and kick you off the slopes if you ski fast. Maybe so-yes, another round of mulled wine, please-but where did the Mahre twins come from? The fact is that no one knows how once-in-a-generation skiers or tennis players or milers are





PIRMIN SOARS
The great all-event racer pulls
out a rousing downhill win over
Teammate Müller, then hooks a
gate in the combined slalom

hatched. One of them makes a team dominant; two constitute a golden age. None at all makes this year dreary but normal.

To be normal and also snakebit, however, is a bit much. Injuries hit the U.S. men hard, and all but wiped out the women's team. Veteran Doug Lewis, who cracked a collarbone when a Soviet coach who was taking pictures blundered into his path during a ski test a few weeks ago, creaked to 32nd place in the downhill.

AJ. Kitt and Jeff Olson, a couple of youngsters still getting used to the World Cup circuit, did respectably to finish 26th and 28th. No U.S. male skier survived the combined. Among the women, early-season injuries knocked out Star Tamara McKinney, '84 Gold Medalist Armstrong. Downhillers Eva Twardokens, Tori Pil-

linger, Adel Allender and Diann Roffe.

(McKinney and Armstrong, on the mend, are at Calgary and ready to race.) Then only an hour before she was to race in the downhill, Team Veteran Pam Fletcher, the last realistic hope for a top-15 showing, collided with a course worker on a practice run and broke her leg.

practice run and oroke her teg.
As usual in dire times, U.S. fam adopted
As usual in dire times, U.S. fam adopted
y" Percy—or so one Calgary sportswriter
insisted—a tolona 21-year-old to may be
are and the star of the control of the
run early and fast through stiff, changeable
wind in the downhill. Among the stars who
failed to touch her time were the glamorous
Swiss rivals Maria Walliser, who finished
fourth, and Michela Figini. Sarajevò's

downhill winner, an ignominious ninth. But when it seemed that a North American gold medal was likely, along came West Germany's Marina Kiehl, a pint-size, rosy-cheeked super giant slalom specialist who had never won a World Cup downhill. She steamed across the finish line .75 sec. in the lead, "I was out of control up there, so I just took it faster and faster," said Kiehl, 23. A bit later, lanky Brigitte Oertli, the Swiss star no one hears about, edged Percy by .01 sec. for the silver medal. Two inexperienced U.S. women, Edith Thys, 21, and Kristen Krone, 19, swallowed their Olympic iitters, held their tucks and made their turns, and though the cameras did not show their courage, finished a creditable 18th and 20th. A cheer or two, please, for the mere-By John Skow. ly excellent.

Reported by Laura Lopez/Nakiska

K IEHL SPEEDS
Surprising herself and the world, a rosy-cheeked West German carefully holds a tight, aerodynamic tuck over a high-speed jump and rides out a wild and windy downhill to win at Mount Allan



TIME, FEBRUARY 29, 1988



Moody, mischievous and quite possibly under the influence of bird hormones, Jumper Matti Nykänen flies in his own league

#### Alert: Nukes Away!

s the crowd chanted "Matti! Matti! and his countrymen waved blueand-white Finnish flags, the superbrat of ski jumping shot down the runway at 54 m.p.h. Body tucked, hands behind his back, he soared off as though someone had slipped a piece of hot charcoal into

It was a typical Matti Nykänen performance: an explosive takeoff, an eerily long floating descent and-as of right-a first-place finish. The boyish Nykänen, 24, punched the air in triumph and seemed to ignore the awed congratulations of Pavel Ploc and Jiri Malec, the Czechs who finished a distant second and third. The decisive win in the 70-meter competition gave Nykänen his first gold at Calgary, with a shot at an unprecedented second and third this week in the weatherdelayed 90-meter individual and team events. It also made him the first jumper in some 50 years to finish first in more than one Olympics

In his two runs before an anxious crowd of 52,000 onlookers at Canada Olympic Park, Matti "Nukes" produced nearly identical jumps of 294 ft. That gave him an astonishing 17-point margin over Ploc, who scored closer to the tenth-place jumper than he did to Nykänen. It confirmed the suspicion that there are two classes of jumpers in the world today: Nykänen and everyone else Said his coach, Matti Pulli: "He is the best jumper in the past 100 years, the best ever in the world." The coach then added matter-of-factly, "Matti was iumping normally today, nothing more than that. He can jump farther.

The "Flying Finn" is probably the most single-minded and obsessive jumper as well as the best. Nykänen first slid off the roof of his childhood home at 7, got his first skis two years later, and did more jumps at 12 than most of his competitors do now, "When I met him, Matti

was making 3,000 to 4,000 jumps a year.' said Paavo Komi, a professor who worked with the budding star in his native Jyväskylä. "Now he jumps nearly 6,000 times each year, in contrast to 3,000 to 4,000 for most jumpers." Part of this is the dogged will to win. The rest, Nykanen says, is pure joy: "You must experience the feeling. It feels like flying."

HUMAN SAIL It's a long way up, but the lofty

king of the sport looks confidently down on the field as his exuberant 70-meter leans mark him the "best ever," the on Olympic athlete who is literally at a level above



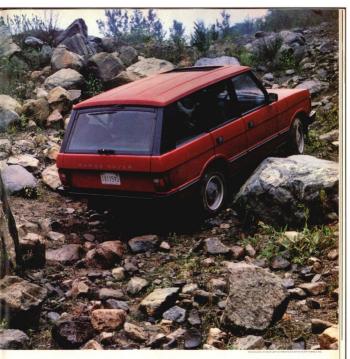
Since 1981, when he won his first international junior championship, the flashy Finn has piled up 1,479 World Cup points, some 400 more than the nearest competitor. At Sarajevo, he won gold in the 90 meter and silver in the 70 meter.

Typically, Nykänen shows superb sail but flawed form. On takeoff his arms may flail, and in landing he often misses the perfect telemark position: back straight and knees bent, with one leg considerably in front of the other. But these faults stem from his unique method of reading and reacting to the wind, sacrificing grace for distance. The antistyle may also owe something to Nykänen's fierce personality and determination to do everything his own way. At any rate, it does not seem to cost him style points. Judges are apparently willing to overlook his less than perfect form, presumably because the greatest ski jumper in the world should not be put down on narrow aesthetic grounds.

Nykänen is not especially fast coming down the runway, but his lift-off and soaring ability are legendary. On the circuit, some jumpers say his broad, light body acts as a human sail. American Jumper Mike Holland thinks the Finn has "bird hormones. Seriously, he has just the right technique and featherlike physique. He floats through the air. When you're jumping, little differences in your technique reflect large differences in your results. Everything he does right gets magnified.

In Finland, Nykänen reigns as a national hero, despite his moderately checkered past. A dropout after the ninth grade, he has a history of drinking and angry confrontations. He trashed a disco, stole beer from a kiosk, and twice was kicked off the Finnish team for bad behavior. Married in late 1986 and the father of a fivemonth-old son. Nukes is said to he a mellower man these days and one eager to assist team mates. Since last summer, he said, he is "not feeling hyper.

Last weekend, as the 90meter competition was postponed because of howling winds, Nykänen admitted that the delay was making him tense. "I don't want to criticize the organizers for not putting up windscreens," he said, "but the wind blows hard here." Still, it will take more than wind to psyche him out. Ski experts say the only winds comparable to Calgary's unpredictable gusts are at Lahti hill in Finland. That is where Nykänen trained. - By John Leo. Reported by Brian Cazeneuve/ Calgary



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HBO PICTURES PRESENTS



In the ranks of the truly amateur are hucksters from an island in the sun, a bona fide prince and an ultra-low-flying Briton

#### The Jests of the Rest

ight about the time this week that New York City Fireman Raul Muniz starts his 24-hour shift at Engine Company 45 on East Tremont Avenue in the Bronx, athletes in Calgary's Olympic Village will be tumbling out of bed for another day of fun, games and potential glory. Muniz is no stranger to that daily ritual. As one-half of Peurto Rico's

two-member luge team, the fire fighter spent pleasant evenings last week playing free video games with the boys and girls of winter and precarious days sliding down the refrigerated luge track on his back at speeds pushing 70 m.p.h. "People were pushing 70 m.p.h. "People were and ringing cowbells," he says with wonder. "At the finish they were chanting, "Ra-ul, "Ra-ul,"

Ra-ul, 31, is an Olympic athlete no one will ever confuse with Pirmin or Katarina. Slogging where others soar, he was among the Games' engaging foot soldiers, competitors whose contribution is measured in texture and character more than in tenths of a point and hundredths of a second. Many are paupers. One of them, Bobsledder Albert Alexandre Louis Pierre of Monaco, is a prince. Their hopes are for modest rewards. Says Muniz, who happily finished five spots better than last: "None of us wants to be the 'agony of defeat.'

The luge and bobsled seem to attract the largest number of Olympic eccentrics, many of whom have found the openminded governing bylaw about nationality conveniently accommodating. For New Yorker George Tucker, a physicist born in Puerto Rico, Calgary actually offered a chance to improve. At his Sarajevo debut in 1984, Tucker shed alarming amounts of skin bouncing off the wall. "I was the luger who dripped blood," Tucker says. The next summer he recruited Muniz, who had schemed to represent Puerto Rico as a kayaker. "Misery loves company," explains Muniz. Argentine Ruben Gonzalez, a chemist, claims yet another distinction. "At any level, I am the only luger in South America." His level leaves an area for improvement just slightly smaller than the

The lugers are all seasoned veterans compared with the Jamaican bobsled

team, which first put a sled into a starting chute only four months ago. In Calgary the Jamaicans may well win the gold medal for marketing chutzpah. Their T shirts sell for \$15\$, their sweat shirts, and the shirt of the shirts of the shirts of the shirt of the shirts of the shirts

As exotic as the Jamaicans seem, their lineup can't match Prince Albert and his brakeman, a casino croupier. Although he is Monaco's Olympic representative and entitled to royal treatment, Prince Rainier's son lives in the athletes' Village, where he introduces himself as plain Al-

bert. "Fabulous," he says of his first Games. "I just wish I was driving better." That sentiment would be endorsed by the Portuguese, who had difficulty keeping one of their sleds upright.

Occasionally an athlete will transcend his limitations and capture the imagination of those assembled, electronically and personally. This year's winner at that end of the Games is a 24-year-old plasterer from Cheltenham, England. Michael Edwards, also known as "Eddie the Eagle," points his toes launches himself on some of the shortest flights known to man. A sweet-tempered cross between fictional Ski Jumpers Spuds MacKenzie and Bob Uecker. Edwards finished dead last (but at least not dead) in the 70-meter jump. He scored with the media and the great unfit majority tuning in with his cheerfully loony answers. (His favorite skier? John Paul II.) After Edwards' promotional appearance at a nightclub, weare-not-amused British Olympic officials stamped their little feetsies, cried foul, and the most ingenuous interview in town will be muzzled until the conclusion of the 90-meter jump.

That put only a temporary damper on the party being thrown by the athletic under-class. Most were even making plans for 1992 and beyond. The got at least two more Olympics in me," declares Gonzalez-Fellow Luger Tucker is also future-gazing, "Maybe," be says, "its time to start driving a bobsled." En garde, Albert. — B. Faul A. Wittensan





THRILL OF DEFEAT
An engaging, endangered species:
Eddie the Eagle flaps his wings
after a lively last-place finish, and
bobsledders from Portugal flip their
lids in practice



While Calgary dazzled at night, Soviet skiers and East German lugers piled up medals, and the U.S. hockey team kept Americans nervously absorbed. When not waiting for winds to die, cheerful fans enjoyed every minute

## A Gallery of the Games

#### PLAYING AT THE EDGE

The U.S. bockey team has neither N.H.L. All Stars nor avescensive disciplined fled Arm Yeam veterons. Still, the young, advensible-denothed spand skates with so much abundon that it has been the hottest ticker in town. Tension has a lot to de with it. Like leading the favored Czecka by three, or pulling to within one before yielding in the emotional confrontation with the Soviets. The U.S. styke was wide open and opportunistic—Ony filmen's turbocharged fast breaks are the team signature—and it's leavened with some of the termament's most agreessive checking. But the Americans, weak on defense and sloppy enough to give up a passed of shorthanded goals, ended the week within a wrist file, of elimination.





#### A SWOOP OF EAST GERMAN GOLD

If a woman happens to shoot past you at nearly 90 m.p.h. on her back, bet on her I he's East Germa. Unt Onderhoffern meant only a horaze in the women's lage singles, but that's because other East Germans wom the silver and gold. In fact the German benecratic Republic Calimed an astonishing six of the nine luge medials and all the gold. Americans got some soloce when Borow the came in sixth, the best U.S. flinish ever. "We're nighting on those East German times," she says, "I won't out uttil we get them;







#### THE TOWN GOES UP IN JOY

Visitors to the Games are enjoying the sweetness of the spectacle and more than a little light. In the downtown Olympie/ Plaza, tens of thousands attend the evening medal ceremonies. Afterward, huge images of siders, skaters and lugers cascade down the sides of skycarpaers in a side and laser show, and on a vast screen the day's dramas are replayed. Then comes a final burst of fireworks before those below decamp for hopply overcrowded restaurants.

#### MINGLING SUCCESS AND BAD BLOOD

They all seem to start out eventy—or at least in regulated interval—or at least in regulated interval—from the splendfild Cammor Nerdick Center. But a suprisery and a suprisery of the splendfild Cammor Nerdick Soviet dominance (eight of the first twelve medials) led Canadian Coccal Murry Half is suggest some cross-country skiers missed some more equal than others thanks to blood dopine, lajecting stored holded from the splendfild of the splendfild some design of the splendfild some degree of the splendfild some









#### WINDSWEPT AWAY

The summit of Mount Allan often looked more if for Hillings and Morgay, Me conqueres or Severest, than the great Zurbriggen. Gusts up to 70 m,ph. blew away more than just snow. Olympic officials ran for cover as the order of events to-stelded and flapped abjectly; by Saturday eight of 20 outdoor competitions had suffered some form of postpoonement. Worst lift was the sail jump, where the team 90-meter event faces a possible delay until next week or even cancellation, unless the gales putter out.

#### FANTASMAGORIA

Through it all, everyone was watching. Even American Speed Stater Rancy Swider-Peltz, now a veteran of from Olympiads, lingered by the risk to let the goings-on catch the wide eye of Dagiete Nancy, I, Good-natured greasepaint nationalism was in abundance as North Americans of every stripe sported their national colors. To catch all the activity, nothing less than special Olympic Pentafocals would do. —By Daniel Benjamin. Reported by Lee Griggs and Barrett Seammi, Caligary



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GREENPEACE



Racing just after his sister's death, Dan Jansen took a spill. Four days later, he went down again but rose in the eyes of the world

#### The Fall and Rise

merican Speed Skater Dan Jansen was carrying a weight of grief last week, and he fell. At 22, he was at the top of his form, having won the 500-meter at the world sprint championships near his home in West Allis. Wis., just a week earlier. But at 6 a.m. Sunday, eleven hours before he was to pursue the gold at hours before he was to pursue the gold at moned to a phone. It was a call from the hospital room of his sister Jane with the hospital room of his sister. Jane with the

though that emotional pressure had made a difficult curve impossible.

When he fell the second time, on the straightaway of Thursday's 1,000-meter event, just 200 meters short of the finish, it was even more stunning, as if he had been forced down by sorrow alone. Watching from the gallery, Brother Mike, 24, had just assured a sister: "Dan's made it through the toughest turns. He's fine now," At the 600-meter mark Jansen was

shocked silence." It link we were all just kind of numb." Jansen's spills brought down much of the U.S. hope for a men's speed-skating medal. The team had gone to Calgary seeing a chance to replay source skating golds. But the team arrived feuding bitterly and publicly over starting lineups. When he was not named to race in the 1,000. dissident Captain Erik Henthelm of the Captain Brith Henthelm of the Captain Captain (Brith Henthelm Captain Erik Henthelm Ca

Meanwhile the competition has been reaching dizzing new speeds. In Sunday's race, 27 skaters broke Heiden's old record. After Jansen, the best U.S. hope for a medal had been Sprinter Nick Thometr. But following months of battling a low blood-platelet count and a recent bout of the flu, he mished eighth in the 500 and 18th in the 1,000. That race went to the Soviet Union's Nikolai Guilaev in 1,1303. The silver went to East Centre 1,1303. The silver went to East Centre 500 with a 36 45 record. Finally on Sature 500 with a 36 45 record. Finally on Sature 1,1304.





DOUBLED AGONY
The sprinter in superb form
during the 1,000 shortly before
fortune's final twist left him and
the watching world stunned

news that she was rapidly losing her yearlong battle with leukemia. The eldest of nine children and a speed skater herself, Jane, 27, had urged him to go to Calgary despite her worsening health. While a brother held the phone to her ear, Jansen spoke to her, but she was unable to reply. Four hours later she had dien

It was an anxious and grieving Jansen on the starting line that evening. At the outset he jumped the gun. To avoid a repeat and disqualification, he held back for a crucial moment at the second gun, then bore down to make up for lost time. He went down suddenly in the first turn, clipand and the second gun, then are the second gun, the

31 sec. faster than any of the competition. Then his right skate "caught an edge" hit the ice on the side instead of the bottom of the blade—sending him to his hands and knees and into a wall. For a moment he sat on the ice, unbelieving, until Coach Mike Carowe and Teammate which the competition of the competition of the Next Teat the coach of the coach his fance. Canadian Speed Skater Natalie Grenier, and sobbed.

The scene brought to mind heartbreaking falls of American Olympic track stars: Jim Ryun tumbling at Munich, Mary Decker's astonished spill in Los Angeles. Jansen's mother Gerry, who had seen the race on TV, spoke for the millions who watched at home and in Calgary, where a cheering crowd fell into day the U.S. medal drought ended when Eric Flaim, who placed fourth in both the 500 and the 1,000, took second in the 1,500-meter event.

1,500-meter event.
The day before. Jansen had flown home by private jet to attend his sister? Mineral. We hugged and we cried, "sid Mix. Jansen. "My Gungler's death has larter that day Jansen with the side of t

#### **Economy & Business**

**Special** Report:

## A Legacy Cutting The Deficit A Legacy Of Largesse

#### TIME offers some ways to reduce that federal red ink

nlike its predecessors, the thick document did not spark explosions of anger or snorts of derision as it landed on Capitol Hill last week. When Ronald Reagan submitted to Congress his eighth budget, a \$1.09 trillion spending package for fiscal 1989, not even the Democrats pronounced it D.O.A.,

as they have in years past Why the sudden bipartisan harmony? Partly because exhaustion and even bore-

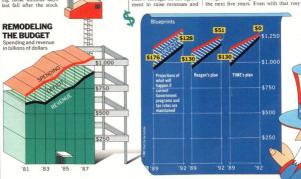
dom have taken a toll in seven years of bitter ideological combat; mostly because the battle over this budget has already largely been fought. Reagan's document embodies the compromise deficit-reduction plan forged during the emergency White House-Congress budget summit held during those anxious days

market crashed. Noting that the document "does not fully reflect my priorities, the President said, "I am adhering to the bipartisan budget agreement and keeping my part of the bargain. I ask Congress to do the same." The lawmakers seemed ready to cooperate. "I think it's a goodfaith budget," said Florida Democrat Lawton Chiles, who chairs the Senate Budget Committee. "It looks like it meets the summit agreements.

On the surface, the Reagan 1989 budget is an impressive effort. It sets a deficit target of \$129.5 billion, less than the \$146.7 billion gap expected for 1988 and far lower than the \$176 billion shortfall projected for 1989 if Congress and the White House do not follow through on the agreecut spending. The amount of deficit reduction Reagan plans for 1989 is probably just right. Anything more might throw the economy into a recession.

As a long-term blueprint for U.S. financial stability, however, the Reagan budget is woefully inadequate. For one thing, the President intends to raise \$10 billion in 1989 through the sale of federal assets like the Naval Petroleum Reserves and other one-shot gimmicks that will do nothing to reduce the deficit permanently. The President wants to boost outlays for education, law enforcement, science and AIDS research-all worthy proposals-but steadfastly refuses to support tax hikes to finance increased spending over the long

run. Moreover, Reagan's budget projections are based on the decidedly optimistic assumption that the gross national product will grow an average 3.2% annually over



projection, the Administration forecasts a deficit of \$51.1 billion in 1992 and \$23.3 billion in 1993. The President who campaigned on a promise that he would balance the budget by the end of his first term is now finishing his second term with that soal nowhere in sight.

Why has he failed? How difficult can it be to make the Government live within its means? Those questions prompted TIME's Washington bureau to undertake an ambitious project: drafting its own long-term proposal for balancing the budget, details of which can be found in the following pages. Seven TIME correspondents, combing the tax code and federal programs from agriculture to welfare. searched for new revenues and spending cuts that would be feasible and fair. Among the many experts they consulted. several were especially helpful: Rudolph Penner, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute and former director of the Congressional Budget Office: Joshua Epstein, senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution: Robert Greenstein. executive director of the Center on Budget Policy and Priorities; and his colleague Gordon Adams, director of the

The object of the exercise was not to come up with the best theoretical plan for eliminating the deficit, taking no account of the political obstacles that almost invariably themat Congress and the White House. Rather, the purpose was to demonstrate that achieving a balanced budget necessarily involves broad-based sacrifices that may be unpleasant but are hard-

center's Defense Budget Project.

ly catastrophic.

The goal was to wipe out the deficit by 1992—a year shead of the target in the latest version of the Gramm-Rudman law. The case for balancing the budget sooner rather than later is simple: the longer it takes, the more difficult it becomes, and the more costly the delay. During his terms, Reagan has armassed a higher deficit total \$1.25 trillion) than all the costs. He and Congress have more than doubled the national debt, to \$2.36 trillion. Meanwhile, interest on the debt has

snowballed, threatening to bury the financial fortunes of generations to come. If the trend is not slowed, the annual net interest tab will surpass \$200 billion in 1992, more than the U.S. deficit. Put another way, the budget would move into surplus were it not for interest on past deficits.

If the economy continues to expand, revenues will grow faster than spending, but not fast enough to close the deficit in the foreseeable future. Using figures from the Congressional Budget Office and assuming that GNP growth will average 2.5% over the next few years (a more realistic figure than Reasan's 3.2%). TIME esti-

mates that if Congress takes no further action to cut spending or raise revenue for the deficit will still be \$128 billion in 1992. That gap cannot be eliminated all at once, and the cuts should not be made mechanism of the constant of th

TIME's correspondents quickly concluded that any attempt to close the deficit strictly through spending cuts would be unworkable and unwise. Most nondefense programs have already been slashed relentlessly during the Reagan years, and the President has reluctantly consented to slow the growth of his military budget.

And the deficit cannot be eliminated by reforming the budget process and by



The President who campaigned on a promise that he would balance the budget by the end of his first term is now finishing his second term with that goal nowhere in sight

rooting out waste, fraud, abuse and pork, as Reagan seemed to claim in his State of the Union address. While the President can rail against "blueberry research, the study of crawfish and the commercialization of wildflowers," shutting down every wasteful program in Government would raise a few billion at most. The truth is that almost all federal spending-whether necessary or not-goes for worthwhile and popular purposes. Another pipe dream is the suggestion by Democratic Presidential Candidate Michael Dukakis that a federal tax amnesty and stricter enforcement would bring forth at least \$35 billion worth of delinquent taxes. The inescapable fact is that the deficit

The inescapable fact is that the deficit must be closed through a combination of spending cuts and substantial tax increases. Though Reagan grudgingly accepted a \$14 billion tax hike for 1989 as part of the summit agreement, he is opposed to increases for subsequent years. TIME's proposal calls for eliminating the projected 1992 deficit of \$128 billion through \$49 billion in spending reductions and \$79 billion in revenue increases. Though the President's original tax cuts were simply too deep to be sustainable, there is no reason to reverse those cuts completely or undo the 1986 income-tax reform, which brought down marginal rates while closing loopholes. Many economists agree that high tax rates encourage tax evasion and investments in unproductive shelters. Thus TIME is not suggesting a general increase in tax rates. One inequitable quirk in the tax code could be removed, however. At present, individual taxable incomes (with one exemption) between \$43,150 and \$100,480 and joint incomes (with two exemptions) between \$71,900 and \$171,090 are taxed at a 33% marginal rate. Higher incomes are taxed at a 28% marginal rate. TIME suggests that the top bracket be a uniform 33%

The bulk of the revenues needed to curb the deficit could be raised through higher excise taxes, further loophole closings and selected increases in corporate levies. A sharp rise in the gasoline tax would not only raise revenues but promote energy conservation. Taxes on cigarettes, beer and wine could also be interested to the control of the contro

On the spending side, TIME's proposals are not radically different from Reagan's. Like the President, our correspondents have concluded that major savings could be achieved by reducing agricultural subsidies and getting a better handle on medical costs. Both the White House and TIME propose large cuts in defense.

The crucial question is what to do about Social Security, the biggest non-defense spending program. Reagan leaves it untouched—a politically safe but economically questionable position. That suggests a practical approach, instead of trying to reduce Social Security benich and the security of the seal that seems that the security of the seal that the s

Even if TIME's proposals were carried out, the Government's finances would not be put on a permanently firm footing. For years. Uncle Sam has been borrowing money from the Social Security trust fund to pay for other programs. That remains the case in Reagan's 1989 budget and in TIME's as well. Eventually, when the baby boomers start to retire, that money will have to be paid back. Taxes will have to be raised further or spending-almost certainly Social Security benefits-will have to be reduced. In short, the job of balancing the budget is not going to get any easier in the future. The time to start attacking the problem vigorously is now By Richard Hornik

and the Washington bureau



### Yes, It Can Be Done

outlays or boost taxes, the federal deficit will remain huge: a projected \$128 billion in 1992. To close that gap,

If Congress does nothing further to curb Government TIME proposes spending cuts over the next four years that would save \$49 billion in 1992, along with tax and other revenue increases that would raise \$79 billion.

#### TOTAL REVENUE \$1,260 billion, up \$79 billion

s sources in 1992. The second number tells how much of a reduction or be in 1992 if the levies went unchanged.)

INDIVIDUAL A +\$46.6 INCOME TAXES \$579



Boost taxes on the highest incomes. The top marginal tax rate could be increased from 28% to a uniform 33%, which is already paid by some upper-middle-income households. That is still far less than the 50% top rate that prevailed before tax reform, \$14.1 billion

Eliminate tax-free status of private-purpose municipal bonds. Unlike ordinary municipal bonds, which finance schools, sewers and the like, private-purpose bonds are issued by state and local governments to raise capital for local private companies and nonprofit organizations. \$2.5 billion

Increase taxes collected on Social Security benefits. Currently, 50% of Social Security benefits are taxable for individuals with incomes over \$25,000 and families with more than \$32,000. The proportion of benefits taxed could be raised to 85%, while the income threshold could be lowered to \$12,000 for individuals and \$18,000 for families. Rationale for the 85% figure: typical recipients during their working years have paid taxes on 15% of the amount they receive in benefits. \$10 billion

Raise taxes on employer-paid insurance premiums. Only premiums on life-insurance coverage of more than \$50,000 are taxed; the exemption for smaller amounts could be removed. Healthinsurance premiums, now exempt, could be taxed as income when the payments amount to more than \$80 per month for an individual or \$200 for a family. \$8.6 billion

Tighten mortgage-interest deductibility. Deductions could be disallowed for mortgage interest payments in excess of \$20,000 a year for a joint return and \$12,000 for an individual. The second-home mortgage deduction could be eliminated. \$1.8 billion

Reduce the tax-free portion of pension funding. Under some retirement plans, annual payments of up to \$90,000 are tax exempt. All tax-free thresholds could be reduced by half. \$3.6 billion

Tax capital gains on estates, Suppose someone buys stock that increases in value by \$1,000 before he dies and leaves the stock to his heirs. If the heirs sell the stock, they do not have to pay taxes on that \$1,000, only on any gain that occurred after the stock was inherited. Instead, the heirs could be required, at the time of inheritance, to pay taxes on capital gains. To prevent heirs from having to sell assets to pay taxes, deferral of payments and income averaging could be allowed. \$6 billion

CORPORATE TAXES \$137



Reduce the write-off on business meals. The restaurant business did not collapse when the full deduction was cut to 80% in 1986. Now the deduction could be sliced to 50%. \$3.6 billion

Eliminate special breaks for energy and mining companies. These industries could do without the oil-depletion allowance and other tax-accounting preferences. \$2.6 billion

EXCISE TAXES \$58



Extend the telephone tax. The 3% federal tax on telephone service is scheduled to expire in 1991 but could be continued. \$3 billion

Double the cigarette tax. The tax on cigarette packs has risen from 8¢ in 1951 to 16¢, but prices have risen more. The tax as a percentage of selling price has fallen from 42% to 15%. \$2.9 billion Raise beer and wine taxes. The tax on wine is only 5% of what it is on hard liquor, while the tax on beer is 25%. Both could be raised to 50%. The tax on a 750-ml bottle of wine would go from 3¢ to 30¢ and on a six-pack of beer from 16e to 32e. \$3 billion

Increase the gasoline tax. Boosting the levy by 20c, to 29c per gal., would encourage energy conservation. It would raise \$18 billion, of which \$2 billion could be rebated to low-income households in income-tax credits. One alternative, imposing an oil-import fee, would be less preferable because it would fall disproportionately on those who rely on oil heat. \$16 billion

SOCIAL INSURANCE \$433

no change



This category primarily includes Social Security payroll taxes.

OTHER \$53



Boost fees for ports and waterways. Ship and barge owners could pay more for passage, licenses and inspections. \$1.4 billion

TOTAL SPENDING \$1,260 billion, down \$49 billion
(The first number listed is the amount, in billions, of proposed spending for a particular category in 1992. The second number tells how much of a reduction or addition the proposal represents, in companison with what spending would be in 1992 if the programs went unchanged.)





The U.S. is building more weapons systems than are necessary to ensure the national defense. Troop levels could be trimmed, especially if the U.S. insists that its allies share more of the burden of defending the free world. Defense specialists in Congress and the Administration can choose from among several possible cuts; reduce the size of the aircraft-carrier fleet from 15 to twelve and cancel two planned carriers before construction begins (a saving of \$3.5 billion in 1992); cancel the Stealth bomber (\$7 billion); kill the C-17 transport plane (\$2.3 billion); freeze annual spending on the Strategic Defense Initiative at 1988 levels (\$9 billion); trim 80,000 soldiers over four years from the 780,000-member Army





(\$3.4 billion); cut back on aircraft flying hours and other routine maneuvers (\$5 billion or more). Past budget cuts in programs for the poor may have been partly responsible for the startling rise in the number of homeless. An extra \$1 billion a year would pay for construction of more than 150,000 low-in-





come housing units by 1992. In 1983 the U.S. started a program to control Medicare costs by setting formulas for maximum payments based on estimated costs of procedures and treatments. Since then data collected on actual costs indicate, say health-budget experts, that payment schedules could be reduced by 7%. Payments





would still rise with inflation, but the one-time adjustment would save about \$5 billion in 1992. The rising level of federal Medicaid reimbursement to the states, which helps pay for medical care for the poor, could be better controlled by pegging increases to the Consumer Price Index. The National Institutes of Health, whose budget has increased more than 50% since 1981, could withstand a 5% cutback without endangering vital programs,



The educational system needs bolstering. But before additional federal funds are committed, the money now available should be redirected. Nearly \$2 billion a year could be saved by collecting on defaulted student loans and reducing aid to those who enroll in for-profit trade schools. That money could be funneled to literacy programs in junior and senior high schools in educationally disadvantaged areas.





Some 2 million veterans with service-related disabilities receive payments. Half of them have disabilities that in the Government's estimation impair their capabilities by no more than 30%. Examples: moderately flat feet and partly amputated fingers. Even though these problems do not seriously impair a veteran's ability to work, individuals receive up to \$128 a month. Ending those payments, while giving the veterans free medical care for their disabilities, would save about \$2 billion in 1992.





The sharp decline in the value of the U.S. dollar has strapped the State Department's overseas buying power. Everything costs more, from agricultural grants to embassy payrolls to intelligence gathering.





No other major business in America is subsidized the way farming is. Price-support payments and federal assistance for flood and crop insurance could be trimmed substantially. Until the Government gets the space program back on track and has a clear set of priorities, spending should not continue at planned levels. Rather than pour so much money into its own space program,





the U.S. could enter into less costly joint projects with other countries. Specifically, the building of an additional space shuttle to replace Challenger could be canceled and funding for the manned orbiting space station cut in half. That would still leave enough to build an unmanned platform in space while developing a larger manned station in cooperation with other nations Most of these loans and grants, if given at all, should be paid for by state and local governments. Intended to help distressed areas, these funds too often wind up aiding profitable businesses in comfort-





able neighborhoods.

Though it is essential for the U.S. to cultivate domestic energy sources and know-how, current spending is excessive. The research-and-development budgets for nuclear fission and fossil fuels could be





cut by two-thirds. In addition, the U.S. should reduce funding for rural electrification and remove subsidies on the sale of federally generated power.





Spending cuts over the next four years will slow the accumulation of the national debt and thus reduce the projected level of federal interest payments.

Among the categories for which no spending changes are recommended are Social Security (\$285 billion), transportation (\$31 billion), natural resources and environment (\$18 billion), general Government (\$11 billion) and Justice (\$10 billion).

91 TIME, FEBRUARY 29, 1988





GAMES OF THE XXIVTH OLYMPIAD SEOUL KOREA SEPTEMBER 17-OCTOBER 2, 1988 PLAN ON IT!

Tickets will be on sale from October 1987 through June 1988 at Olson Travelworld in U.S.A.: 213-670-7100 (5855 Green Valley Circle, Sulte 300, Culver City, California 90230)

#### **Business Notes**



OFFICE EQUIPMENT Ollie made the Intimus 007 S a star



AGRICULTURE Checking for contraband fru

#### PLANT CLOSINGS Lee offers a fund

DEALS

#### Rolling Away From Tradition

Buoyed by the strong yen, the Japanese last year poured nearly \$6 billion into acquisitions of U.S. companies. But few of those investments were larger-or more stunningthan the venture announced last week by two renowned names in the world tire industry: Tokyo's Bridgestone and Chicago's Firestone. As part of a \$1.25 billion deal, Bridgestone will take over Firestone's tire business, though the U.S. firm will retain a 25% interest in those operations

The 87-year-old Firestone will energe from the agreement as a smaller company, operating retail tire stores and manufacturing building materials. Most of the \$1.25 billion will be distributed to Firestone shareholders, who suffered during the recession of the early 1980s. Firestone Chairman John Nevin decided that the Bridgestone offer was a windfall for shareholders too good to pass up.

INSURANCE

#### The Afflicted Need Not Apply

At the risk of stirring controversy, insurance executives have been perfectly forthright concerning their policies to-

ward potential AIDs victims. Responding to a survey conducted by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, 51 of 61 insurance companies admitted that they screen or plan to screen healthinsurance applicants for signs of the AIDS virus. Half the firms give blood tests for the presence of AIDS and the deep the stricken with the disease.

Moreover, 18 firms reported that an applicant's sexual
orientation is sometimes considered a factor in determining
insurability. That practice defies guidelines issued by the
National Association of Insurance Commissioners and is
against the law in eight states. But insurance executives insist
that they must be allowed to
ALISE patient receives up to
\$130,000 worth of medical
care.

PLANT CLOSINGS

#### Chrysler's Badgered Boss

Lee Iacocca can understand why Wisconsin is called the Badger State. Its clitzens and Governor Tommy Thompson have been in an uproar since Chrysler decided in January to shut down an 86-year-old assembly plant in Kenosha, which would put 5,500 employees out of work. Last week Iacocca offered a peace plan: a \$20 million education-and-

housing fund for the workers, to be financed by profits from new Chrysler vehicles sold in Wisconsin this year. Meeting with Thompson in Washington, Iacocca said he would consider keeping the plant open a few weeks or months longer than its planned Sept. 30 closing.

All that may fail to appease the Badgers. Wisconsin's attorney general is preparing a lawsuit against Chrysler claiming the company reneged on a 1987 promise to keep the plant open for five years in return for \$5 million in job training from the state.

OFFICE EQUIPMENT

## The Colonel Plugged 'Em

No one paid him to do it, but Lieut. Colonel Oliver North gave what was probably one of 1987's more successful celebrity endorsements. The product Sehlecher & Co. paper shredders. After North told congressional investigators of his "shredding parties," in which he reportedly used a Schleicher Intimus 007 S, the colone of t

Secrecy, it seems, is everywhere at a premium. Schleicher sells to schools as well as corporations in 110 countries. The company can even boast that the Intimus 007 S is Ayatullah-proof. By converting a piece of paper into 10,000 flakes, the machine makes it impossible to reassemble shredded documents, as the Iranians did after the U.S. embassy was seized in 1979.

AGRICULTURE

#### Fugitives From Florida

When Texas state inspectors set up checkpoints last week along two major highways leading into the state, they were not worried about escaped convicts or gunrunners. They were on the lookout for fugitives from Florida: oranges, grapefruit and other citrus. The roadblocks were the latest development in a tart tussle among citrus-growing states that began earlier this month, when the U.S. Department of Agriculture lifted a ban on shipments of the fresh Florida fruit to Arizona, California and Texas, among other citrus-producing areas.

The temporary ban was imposed in 1984 to halt an epidemic of canker, a deadly plant disease. In response to the end of the ban, Texas declared a 30-439 embargo on Florida imports to allow time to make a case that canker remains a threat. Florida growers, who sold \$25 million worth of citrus in the banned states in the 1983-84 season, aim to challenge the Texas embargo in court.

#### Theater

#### **From Laughter to Lamentation**

WOMAN IN MIND by Alan Ayckbourn

D man is inherently the least realistic branch of performed literature. Movies and TV thrive on you-are-thern naturalism but typically fatter when they ask audiences to see when they ask audiences to see screen, large or small, is the place for action. The theater is the place for action. The theater is the nonparell place for inward thought outwardly expressed. Audiences can writens recollected audiences and writens recollected the place for invarid thought outwardly expressed. Audiences can writens recollected the place for invarid thought outwardly expressed audience and writens recollected the place for invarid thought outwardly expressed and the place for invarid thought outwardly expressed.

This potential for seeing crazy moments from the crazy person's point of view is at the heart of a flawed, sentimental yet intermittently inspired comedy currently playing off-

Broadway, Cave Life, in which a deranged vuppie wife conjures up a phantom lover who is a Neanderthal. More substantially, it is at the core of the two best new British plays on view in London within the past year, one discussed for a New York City staging, the other already installed. The possible transfer, Simon Gray's Melon, cues playgoers in from the start that they are entering tragic terrain: its tale of a happy man's abrupt tumble into lunacy is recounted first person in the chill of retrospect, after an equally arbitrary, untrustworthy recovery. The other play, Alan Ayckbourn's more complex Woman in Mind, gives audiences no such



yet intermittently inspired Channing and Jones: a plea for help in pratfalls and gibberish

easy signposts and thus achieves an even richer mixture of laughter and pain. It opened last week at off-Broadway's Manhattan Theater Club in a staging by the M.T.C.'s longtime artistic director, Lynne Meadow, that excels the London original mounted by Ayckbourn himself.

Ayckhourn is often described as the Neil Simon of Britain. Both are prolific (Ayckbourn, 48, has written more than 30 plays), popular with mainstream audiences, observant of middle-class absurdities and almost compulsively funny, no matter how dark the underlying theme. The key difference Simon has a forgiving, generous spirit toward his characters,

while Ayckbourn is increasingly merciless. Audiences pause amid laughter and abruptly realize that the landscape is blasted. Ayckbourn borrowed this technique, if not much else, from Chekhov and at his best—as in Season's

Greetings, Time and Time Again and Woman in Mind—uses it just as effectively.

Woman begins with a semiconscious housewife (Stockard Channing) hearing her doctor (Simon Jones) speaking in apparent gibberish; it ends with her speaking it herself, turning the muddled phrase "December bee" into a last futile grasp toward sanity. Along the way, she alternates between kittenish manipulation and alienating acerbity, between sly con-cealment of her growing disorientation and frank revelry in it. She appears to have two families: the real ones are a driedup vicar husband, a sanctimonious sister-in-law and an estranged adult son. The imagi-

by golden light and birdsong, are beautiful, adoring, sauwe, rich and effortiesly brilliant—a shallow bourgeois fantasy of upper-class life, disturbing not only because the wife yearns for this escape but because she fils it with such empty presents. In one harrowing section, the government of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties. In one harrowing central shall be theirs, Ayekbourn and Mendow are powerfully assisted by Channing, a 1985 Tony winner, who handles her brawura role with understatement. Poignant and persuasive, hers is the performance of the New York season.——By Millian A. Hunsy III.

nary figures, who burst in accompanied

#### Milestones

MARRIED. Dave Winfield, 36, Yankee outfielder, and Tonya Turner, 30, a Xerox regional manager in Los Angeles; both for the first time; in New Orleans. Winfield, who holds a ten-year, 191 million contract, is fighting a divorce action brought by a Houston woman based on a common-law marriage. He has admitted he is the father of her five-year-old daughter.

FIRED. Matthew Broderick, 25, boyish stage and screen actor this movies include War-Games. Ferris Bueller's Day Off and the upcoming Blauch involved in a head-on car crash lasts summer in Northern Ireland, 3175 for reckless driving. Broderick, accused of driving on the wrang side of the read, suffered a fractured leg. his fellow passenger and giffriend, Jennifer John Gallagher, whose wife and mother-in-law perithed in the accident, called the rulina "travelvo fusicio".

DIED. Nora Astorga, 39. Nicaraguais Ambassador to the U.N.; of cancer; in Managaa. Born into a wealthy landowning family and trained as a lawyer, Astorga became a romantic symbol of the Astorga became a romantic symbol of the Sandinista revolution in 1978, when she he was more accounted to the Company of the Company of

DIED. Richard Feynman, 69, renowned theoretical physicist, Nobel Prize co-winner and best-selling author (Surely You're Johing, Mr. Feynman); of about mid canfolding, Mr. Feynman); of about mid canential scientific thinkers of the world War II era, Feynman redefined earlier formulations of the theory of quantum electrodynamics and shared a Nobel Prize for it in 1965. In the contraction of the control of the conulty of Caltech, where his elegantly simplified rules of calculation became standard tools of theoretical analysis. In 1986 Feynman startled fellow commissioners investigating the Challenger space-shuttle tragedy by demonstrating, with a small piece of rubbery material and a glass of ice water, that O-ring seals could not withstand sudden and extreme temperature changes.

DIED. Frederick ("Fritz") Loewe, 86, composer and co-reator (with Lyricist Alan Jay Lerner, who died in 1986) of such musical masterpieces as Brigadown, My Fair State Composer and Control of the Composer and Compo

#### **Behavior**

#### The Woes of Being Wealthy

A plague of anxieties often assails prisoners of the golden ghetto

Growing up. Tracy Gary lived in orquient homes in Manhatan. Bal Harbour, Fla., and on Lake Superior's Madeline Island, traveling among them in the family plane, helicopter and yellow Kolls-Royee. In the Company of the Company of the Company and Flat Start Millor and the Company of the sign a Ford Misstang for high school graduation. At 21. Gary received the ultimate gift a 25 million inheritance. Most people would have been overjoyed, but the windful only intensified her long-held feelings of gailt, isolation and improtence. It was under the company of the company of the company in the company of the company of the company of the lives in San Francisco. Her problem the Notes John Levy, a San Francisco-based consultant to heirs and heiresses: "There's a lack of reality because there's no price to pay. They can go out and do something stupid or wrong and be bailed out. It's almost like being in a movie."

Along with their self-absorption, many harbor a sense of worthlessness. 
"It's hard to build self-esteem if you don't deal with the challenge of getting a job," says George Pillsbury of Boston, scion of the flour family. There is also a feeling of guilt for having been born with money. 
"That was the worst problem I had," ad-



plague of anxieties that seems to afflict a growing number of the very rich. In well-off circles around the country,

they call it "affluences". This is a malledy black draws little sympathy in a society that cherishes money as the solution to most list. Even so, psychologists are slowly recognizing that great riches are sometimes accompanied by a wealth of crippling emotional and psychological fears. Affluenca can be acute, striking lottery winners or newly minted doctors and M.B.A.s. It can also be a chronic and pervalve condition in funlities where riches extend frough generations. Says Ayreh Madenthum, a psychogrow up in a sheltered environment, a kind of nodeon pathe to the solution of the congrow up in a sheltered environment, a kind of nodeon pathe to without the walls:

Frequently brought up by nannies and servants and insulated from the stresses of having to hold jobs, many fail to mature emotionally or intellectually. "You can avoid growing up," says one wealthy Chicago woman. "My brothers and sisters are in their late 30s, and they're still complaining about this mean thing someone did when they were kids."

mits Chicagoan Abra Prentice Wilkin, great-granddaughter of John D. Rockefeller. "I didn't earn it." The knowledge can taint even the pleasure of making expensive purchases. The first time Wilkin spent \$100 for a pair of shoes, she was so upset she never wore them. And nagging twinges persist. "I still rationalize buying a \$3,000 set of sheets," she says. "Well, shoot, why not? You spend a third of your life in bed, and they last." The sheer social inequity of their gilded circumstances gnaws away at some. Declares Paul Haible of San Francisco, who inherited \$1 million: "I'm still confronted with people sleeping in the streets. Money may filter that out, but it's not a shelter

Affluenza victims often go to great lengths to hide their privileged status. Swanee Hunt, the daughter of Texas Bilionaire H.L. Hunt, keep the ridentity secret from schoolmates. Marriage and a change of name were not camouflage enough; at her request, she and her husband moved to Europe. "I spent a lot of years trying to escape." says Hunt, who now lives in Denver. As a student at Yale,

Boston's Pilisbury regularly denied any connection with the well-known name and steered clear of talking about his excitic vacations. "It was a question of coming back from African safari. It was too 
different." Ellen Malcolm of Washington, 
D.C. avoided telling office colleagues that 
she was the granddaughter of one of the 
founders of IBM and purposely dressed 
down to fit in She explains. "I thought 
that they would see me as a walking dollar 
sign instead of the person I am."

Dating is often a source of anxiety, particularly to women attracted to men of lesser means. "Twe had to make certain choices in seeing men who don't have as much money as I do," says one Atlanta heiress. "For example, driving no vacation instead of flying, But some wealthy women measure how many rungs of the ladder a man has climbed." Others are rantafyzed by fact of being used by potentially and the production of the pro

May sufferers are terrified of losing the forformes that give them a sense of identity, but they are often worfully pre-mad over, I talk with inheritors whose partners will not talk about money with them. The subject in bad taste." When parents of talk, the instructions likely to be missing the subject in bad taste." When parents death, the instructions likely to be missing the parents of the control of the

The last option can prove especially painful when borrowers are late making payments or even ignore debts. "I didn't need the money," says Pillsbury of a \$4,000 default. "I felt emotionally ripped off." Partly to avoid personal anguish, younger members of the rich set have established more than 200 foundations in the past 15 years to channel, their financial contributions.

More often than not, victims of affluenza find it difficult to seek help. Notes Mark Goulston, a Los Angeles psychiatrist: "Many rich people believe that they don't have the right to have problems. They often feel ashamed of complaining, There is an incredible loneliness at the top." Some efforts are being made to ease their plight. Six years ago, Gary began holding seminars and weekend retreats for the wealthy, where they could discuss the pressures on their lives candidly and confidentially. Such self-help gatherings are now held nationwide. Says one attendee: "It was the very first time I had been able to sit in a group of people and admit I have money." Cost of a seminar: around \$20. For some, it may be the cheapest and soundest bargain they ever struck -By Anastasia Toufexis. Reported by Georgia Harbison/New York, with other bureaus

#### Education



#### When the Sky's the Limit

Grade schoolers gaze upward for lessons and inspiration

Life is like a room. You learn math, a door opens in your room. Now you can enter another room. Yet, I dislike rooms. I like to be free outside, and now I am. For the door to the sky was opened for me

-Drew Prairie, 10, Vista Grande School, Danville, Calif.

or grade schoolers all across the country, the sky has begun to poke its way into the classroom. At Boston's Josiah Quincy School, Pat Keohane's firstgraders play an animated game of hangman, filling in seven blanks that form the word cumulus. In Pittsburgh local Meteorologist Brian Sussman creates miniplanetariums for fifth-graders by piercing the shape of the Big Dipper on the bottom of plastic cups. In a fifth-grade classroom at the Hillside School in Needham, Mass.. students think up celestial similes: trees become the "roots of the sky"; sunlight is "butter pouring through a hole"; clouds are sayored as "marshmallows." When children look skyward for lessons and inspiration, all sorts of wonderful things happen, says Keohane. "It makes them think, expand their vocabulary, gain confidence. And the best part is that it's free."

Using the sky as a focal point for education is the brainchild of a retired Boston newscaster, Jack Borden. Ten vears ago. while hiking, Borden gazed up and felt the jolt of an epiphany. "I had never really noticed the sky before," he recalls, "and its beauty, majesty and fragility just overpowered me." Expose children to this great expanse, he reasoned, and you have a thematic catalyst that spans the three Rs. encompasses the arts and sciences and engages the mind in a voyage of selfdiscovery. Borden, now 59, decided to take his inspiration to local schools. By 1984 he had founded a nonprofit organization called For Spacious Skies and had begun publishing a 32-page guide for teachers, outlining ways in which the sky can stimulate learning. Since then, 17,000 copies have been scooped up, and "sky awareness" has entered curriculums in school districts from Lubbock, Texas, to Wausau, Wis

Because the teaching guide is no more than a sketchy starting point, For Spacious Skies programs vary greatly from school to school. At suburban Hillside, for example, students listen to "sky music ranging from Franz Josef Haydn's Sunrise Quartet to Tom Paxton's Even a Gray Day. In Pittsburgh's Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School, Ruth Martin's fifthgraders write cloud-inspired haiku and use star charts to find constellations. The program seems to work as well in cities as in suburbia: Martin describes an eightyear-old "barely able to contain his excitement" at having spotted Jupiter above the urban skyline with his naked eye.

Mass Protest

The scene was reminiscent of the '60s. but this time the sit-in was peaceful and the administration sympathetic. Upset by recent racial incidents, including an attack by five white students on two blacks, nearly 200 minority students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst took over the school's Afro-American Center for 51/2 days and demanded greater efforts to fight campus racism. Last week, after 14 hours of negotiations with University Chancellor Joseph Duffey, the protest ended when Duffey agreed to many demands, in-

At the Harvard Graduate School of Education, researchers have tried to evaluate the impact of For Spacious Skies programs on elementary school students. Using specially developed tests, researchers concluded that the artistic, musical and literary skills of students exposed to the programs improved much faster than did those of nonparticipating youngsters. Skies students scored 37% higher in music appreciation, 13% higher in literary skills and 5% higher in sensitivity to art. "Something happened to these kids." marvels Market Researcher Anton Morton, who helped analyze the results. "They learned much more and grew much more.

At a time when there is a great deal of lamentation about the decline in writing skills among American children, the program seems to be a beacon of hope. "Children who respond to this write in a profound way." observes Miriam Kronish. the principal at Hillside. Best of all, "it's says a Hillside fifth-grader and budding poet, Elizabeth Stone. "You can write what you want," she points out, and unlike too many other assignments. 'you understand what you are writing about." - By Joelle Attinger/Boston

cluding a new disciplinary procedure that would make involvement in a racial episode cause for immediate expulsion. Duffey praised the protesters' "leadership, concern and courage."

The protest reflects a worrisome increase in racial incidents on U.S. campuses, including Columbia and the University of Michigan last year. At UMASS, tensions have run high since a 1986 black-white brawl among 1,500 students. Five months ago, an independent report criticized the university for a "historical denial" of the racial problems. Black students, who constitute 2.7% of the 26.400 student body, hailed the new agreement as a turning point.



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#### **Books**

### Karma in the Sunbelt

S. by John Updike Knopf; 288 pages; \$17.95

n Roger's Version (1986), John Updike constructed a plot with some teasing but unacknowledged similarities to Nathaniel Hawthorne's The Scarlet Letter: an unfrocked New England minister named Roger broods over the infidelity of his wife. This time out, the author makes his indebtedness perfectly clear. S., Updike's 32nd book and 13th novel, opens with two quotations from The Scarlet Letter and with a heroine who is an unmistakable incarnation of Hester Prynne, the most famous adulteress in American literature. Sarah Worth (née Price) boasts a Prynne among her ancestors and, like Hester, a daughter named Pearl. This mother too is a fallen woman, running away from Massachusetts and her physician-husband of some 20 years to join a charismatic Indian guru's ashram in the Arizona desert. After her plane lands in Los Angeles, she relays a message home to her best friend Midge: "I stayed in this motel near the airport in a dreary area called Hawthorne

Those with a taste for literary allusions will find more to savor here. Names lifted from other Hawthoren novels (Bilthéadie, Procheon) crop up in unexpected contexts, as Sarah seeks her karma in the Sunbelt, she has reason to resent "my old-fashioned Purltan conscience." But Uplike's use of such references should not be taken too somberly, the Sarah Latter serves here as a subtle counterpoint to a comic vision of anything-goes ethics in mild-1980s America.

The story of Sarah's pilgrimage unfolds through the missives she sends from the ashram: to her husband, daughter, mother, friend, psychiatrist, hairdresser and assorted others. With her nearest and dearest, Sarah fends off recriminations by going on the offense. She hectors her husband about his affairs with his nurses and the upkeep of their house and gardens. She tells Pearl, a Yale undergraduate who is spending a year abroad at Oxford, to avoid English homosexuals and "to concentrate on nice normal boys if you can find any in that dear decadent old country." She accuses her widowed mother living in Florida of financial imprudence and of ruining her skin in the sun: "I was shocked to see how brown you were. You looked dyed, frankly, and with your tinted hair the effect was honestly bizarre.

Sarah's communiqués in this temper not only create considerable sympathy for the relatives who receive them but also raise a question. How can this haranguing,



Updike at home in Massachusetts: echoing American literature's most famous adulteress

materialistic harridan have any genuine interest in the ascetic rituals of Eastern mysticism? An answer of sorts emerges, chiefly in her tape-recorded messages to Midge, her most simpatico correspondent. After all, the two shared the same yoga class back in Swampscott, Mass., and together watched inspirational videocassettes of Shri Arhat Mindadali, Sarah now sees the Arhat in person every day, whizzing by in one of his limousines. She confides. "You wouldn't believe the peace he generates, even at 30 miles an hour." As her initiation into the mysteries proceeds, she begins to master a new way of speaking: "Women are just like men are-little bits of purusha caught in prakriti, lost and isolated in all that duhkha. Why did it happen?" In her more-enlightened-than-thou euphoria, Sarah even allows herself a deprecating remark about her former yoga instructor, still mired in the dull routines of East Coast life: "Even Irving, I fear, is just playing at dvandvanabhighata-the cessation of trouble from pairs of opposites.

By her lights, Sarah is serious, but her surroundings decidedly are not. The Ashram Arhat is a scam and a shuck, a helihole filled with intrigue, backbiting the state of the state of the state of the here. "Sarah protests to her mother, who has heard otherwise. "There is just love in its many forms." Translation: there are origes. At a nucle sensitivity season, Sarah is smacked in the jaw and nearly raped by then a lession affair and is eventually sethen a lession affair and is eventually se-

duced by the great leader himself. The Arhat is interested in the conspicuous consumption of women, money and fame: "I wish to be on this John Carson show, as an amusing guest. I think he reaches many people of the night and thus he will re-emergize our field." Thanks to her in-Sarah eventually becomes the Arhat's executive assistant, dealing with debts that may run as high as \$50 million.

S. stands an excellent chance of enraging those people, a stampeding herd in these prickly, litigious times, who believe that fiction should glow with universal tolerance and offend no one in the process. Updike will be charged, incorrectly, with mocking religions and practices outside the Judeo-Christian tradition. In truth, he simply points out the absurd hybrids that result when East and West meet and cross-pollinate. The humor is at the expense not of Buddha but of a place of spiritual purification that also contains a disco and a boutique. Others will claim that Updike is up to the same trick he was accused of in The Witches of Eastwick (1984), namely, giving females enough freedom to make absolute fools of themselves. Wrong again, Sarah survives the shocks and numerous surprises of her ordeal in fine fettle. She may never know just how funny some of her escapades were, unless, of course, she can reassemble all her letters and peruse them at leisure. Or, even more conveniently, read S. and laugh out loud. -Ry Paul Gray



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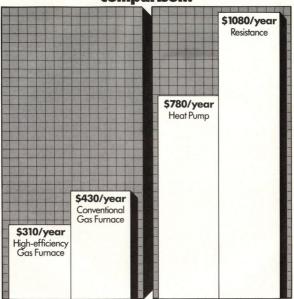
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#### Seapersons

THE LAST SHIP by William Brinkley Viking: 616 pages: \$19.95

The missiles have flown, the earth's depopulated land masses are glowing like one big Chernobyl, and the 305 hands aboard the U.S.S. Nathan James, a destrover that has survived the holocaust. find themselves alone in the vasty deep. But wait. Lurking beneath the waves is a Soviet nuclear submarine that has also escaped harm. Will the two vessels 1) blast each other with their remaining missiles, 2) join forces to begin civilization anew or 3) spend 600-odd pages stalking each other while they try to decide?

Answer: none of the above, mercifully. William Brinkley, an ex-Navy man who made gentle fun of that service in Don't Go Near the Water, his popular 1956 novel

(remember Glenn Ford in the movie?). is serious on this



voyage. Instead of another hardwareheavy Tom Clancy naval thriller like The Hunt for Red October, Brinkley's tale has humanity. thoughtfulness and one inspired complication: women. On the Nathan James. not surprisingly

nowadays in this man's Navy, 32 crew members are female. Sexual tension and just plain tension mount as the ship, food and fuel dwindling, scours the globe for a habitable place to settle down and, if the women are willing, raise some families

Ah, the women. Having resisted the Navy policy change that put them on board, the ship's narrator-captain treats them fairly, admires their sailorly skills and forgets to his peril that they are, after all, women. An austere career man identified only as Tom or the Captain, he leads the mixed crew bravely through mutiny, internecine murder and nuclear winter. until at last he confronts the cunning of Lieut. Girard, the ship's ranking female. "She carried that greatest of all handicaps that may befall a woman," Tom laments before falling for her. "She was simply too bright for most men of this world.

The Last Ship is not just a gender-war memoir but an informative travelogue of the destroyer's globe-girdling last voyage, a catalog of naval weaponry and fittings, and a lengthy speculation on the future of manand womankind. "God is going to give us a second chance?" the Captain wonders as he and his shipmates continue the human habit of baffling and betraying one another. Good question. A scientist might quibble with Brinkley's assumption that sailors would be the likeliest survivors of the next war. But since the species, male and female alike, crawled out of the sea to begin with, it seems only fitting that it make its last stand there as well By Donald Morrison

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#### **Bookends**

THE PALACE by Paul Erdman Doubleday; 313 pages; \$18.95



It seems like only yester-day that it was next year. Paul Erdman's *The Panic of '89* was on the best-seller lists, sounding financial doom in the midst of a powerful bull market. That was, in fact, in the winter of '87. nine months

before reality iced Wall Street. Erdman does not have to worry; quickert than a program trade, here he is, hedging his investments with a sixth novel. The Pelace offers no scenario for economic disaster. Quite the contrary. The book is a ney tale of how one clever and guisy (though not especially honesh fellow can irs from tested to the proper state of the property of the splashiest gambling casinos in Las Vegas and Atlantic City.

Erdman, a former banker in Switzerland, knows all the tricks of pecuniary titillation. The main characters are all endowed with big bottom lines. Short, grubby Danny Lehman, the dubious hero. parlays his assets into fantasies of opulence, power and sex. Lehman is a loner who outwits the law and organized crime and favors the company of a hooker who reads Dostovevsky. All things considered. he is more appealing than the run-of-themill Sammy Glick. Erdman's knowledge about money laundering and creative financing firmly establishes the novel's authority. An unabashed weakness for shady operators and a hearty sense of the vulgar should ensure his market share.

CROSSING OPEN GROUND by Barry Lopez Scribners; 208 pages; \$17.95



Barry Lopez's Arctic Dreams was the surprise winner of the 1986 American Book Award for nonfiction. This collection of short pieces about the American Southwest, Alaska, endangered wild-

life and forgotten cultures is in the same vein. Much of the ground covered is by now well trodden, though Lopez has a light step. He glides over pre-Columbian history, kicking up bits of ornithology, geology and marine biology. His best entry is about beached whales on the Oregon coast and the peculiar behavior these leviathans caused in the local population. The author is a clear and patient observer whose literary surfaces are sometimes broken by a political ripple (the conservation policies of the Reagan Administration, for example, are found wanting, mainly because there are so few of them). Lopez offers no specific program for balancing the ecosystem. Rather, he tries to create an aura of reverence for nature that sometimes has the look of born-again paganism. With musical accompaniment by Paul Winter, a trail companion in one of the book's selections, Lopez could become a guru of the New Age movement.

CIVIL TO STRANGERS by Barbara Pym Dutton; 388 pages; \$18.95



Toward the end of her life, British Novelist Barbara Pym (1913-1980) defined the "immortality most authors would want—to feel that their work would be immediately recognisable as having been written by them and by nobody else.

But of course, it's a lot to ask for!" Her extravagant request was answered. In this last collection-all or parts of four unpublished novels, plus four stories and a radio talkthe unmistakable Pym piquancy is everywhere. It mocks a self-centered woman in the 1940s as she awakens: "Something unpleasant had happened. And then she remembered. It was the war." It characterizes a Hungarian discussing the liability of touring Budapest with a husband: "You do not see the moon and the river. You are thinking only of what you shall eat." The dryly insightful spinster, an honorable role since the days of Jane Austen, is no longer in vogue: Pym was the last of the line. This and her 13 previous and richer books show how much the type is to be missed.

THE PRIZE PULITZER by Roxanne Pulitzer with Kathleen Maxa Villard; 241 pages; \$17.95



The 1982 divorce trial of Herbert and Roxanne Pulitzer served up a succession of toothsome headlines about naughty doings among the Palm Beach rich: group sex, lesbian encounters and sugestions of unspeakable

things performed with a bedside trumpet. All this was allegedly borne upon a flood tide of cocaine. Dom Pérignon and money. The whole sordid story appears anew in Roxanne's latest attempt to cash in on her notoriety (previous ventures included posing nude, for \$70,000, for Playboy). Readers in search of easy, sleazy entertainment, however, are in for a surprise. The narrative is shot through with the pain of any marital breakup, especially when small children are involved, and emerges as a feminist cautionary tale about the futility of devoting one's life to pleasing others. With pitiable candor the author portrays herself as a poor, undereducated country girl who thought she had no way up except through a man, and no way to hold a man except through her body, fun-loving spirit and compliance.

#### Cinema



emale trouble: Fitzpatrick and Harry face off against Divine and Lake **Buxom Belles in Baltimore** 

HAIRSPRAY Directed and Written by John Waters

Baltimore, city of Edgar Allan Poe | ie. Even more horrifying, Hairspray is in and H.L. Mencken, of Johnny Unitas and Brooks Robinson, of aluminum-siding salesmen and rampaging transvestites! How lucky thou art to have two sublimely eccentric moviemakers. Barry Levinson and John Waters, as native sons who sing your praises! Levinson set his two best movies, *Diner* and *Tin Men*, in the Baltimore of the late '50s and early 60s. Waters has made all eleven of his pictures, from the coprophagous comedy Pink Flamingos to the all-stinking Polvester (filmed in Odorama), in his hometown.

At first Waters worked on outlaw subjects and weeny budgets. Now that few moviegoers can be outraged by the antics of his crass menagerie, this past master of bad taste has pulled the ultimate shockeroo: he has made a PG movimminent danger of becoming a mainstream hit. Baltimore may never forgive

Welcome back to 1962, when the city had already established its reputation as the "hairdo capital of the world." On Corny Collins' TV dance party, white teenagers perform all the latest dancesthe Madison, the Continental, the Ponyand are local heroes to every adolescent. Chief among these starlets is Amber Von Tussle (Colleen Fitzpatrick), a snooty princess whose dad (Sonny Bono) is the 'richest man in East Baltimore" and whose mom (Debbie Harry). Miss Soft Crab of 1945, pours all her ambition into Amber. Every afternoon the pouty miss must practice the cha-cha and the Mashed Potato under Mom's eagle eye. "I

want you to get more close-ups on that show," Mom admonishes, "or I'm sending you to Catholic school!" Feuruut

Amber soon finds she has a zaftig rival: Tracy Turnblad (Ricki Lake), who is plump, perky and, pound for bouffanted pound, the snappiest Caucasian dancer in town. The girl has that je ne sais quoi called Star Quality. Soon Tracy is outshining Amber on TV, modeling dresses for a full-figure salon called the Hefty Hideaway and causing a rumpus by insisting that black teenagers be allowed to dance along with whites on Corny's show Stardom proves no cinch for our hero-

ine. The school authorities declare that Tracy's hairdo is a "hair-don't" and exile her to the special ed class. She and Link Larkin (Michael St. Gerard), her "common-law boyfriend," are ostracized from their keen teen group. Her best friend, Penny Pingleton (Leslie Ann Powers), is denounced as a "checkerboard chick" for dating a black student and is tortured by a loopy psychiatrist. And Amber's mom starts a catty rumor about Tracy: "For all we know, she could be high yellow.

For his story about integration, Waters has aptly miscegenated two irreconcilable movie genres: the teen flick and the message movie. He has invaded John Hughes territory, but with his own road map. No Molly Ringwald needed; Lake is the dream image of every girl who has ever craved that eighth Twinkie. No teen realism here, just a romp through the pastel homes and matching mother-daughter outfits of a more naive era. No anxious parental conflict, at least when Tracy's mom is played by Divine, the 300-lb, actor who always looks the height of fashion in a housedress. And no sweat, Baltimore: Waters has done you proud. Watch the moon shimmer in a puddle (as a rat crawls through it). See Tracy triumphant. in her pink roach-patterned evening gown. See Hairspray too. It's light and airy, but it will stick around: the first aerosol movie. -By Richard Corliss

#### Mountain Highness

SHOOT TO KILL

Maybe it is only Sidney Poitier's decade-long absence from the screen that has made one's heart grow fonder. Even in his 60s, Poitier registers a cool, commanding presence. His arrogant authority is undiminished, even enhanced, by being more loosely coiled now. If he still seethes and snaps at the world's stupidity, there are new notes of mellowness in his playing. And why not? The repressions inherent in his old celebrity as the movies' only black leading man have been lifted by the success of Richard Pryor and Eddie Murphy, actors who have not had to be on their best behavior every minute.

Color is only a minor issue here. Urbanity is the real problem. For Poitier's Warren Stantin is a big-city FBI agent forced to pursue a psychopathic killer into a mountain wilderness, discovering in the process that street smarts and trail wisdom are antithetical forms of knowledge. Will he and his guide,

Jonathan Knox (Tom Berenger), bicker about their divergent life-styles for most of the picture? Oh, go ahead, take a wild guess. Will they finally learn mutual respect?



Arrogant authority: Poitier

Close your eyes and try again.

Director Roger Spottiswoode's film is flawed mainly by its sense of fair play. The bumpkin must be mane vered onto the city slicker's turf in order to reverse the student-teacher relationship. and the air is simply not as fresh on this low, familiar movie ground. Even so, one remains grateful for the mountain high. And for Kirstie Alley, as Jonathan's lover. a woman worth battling bears and blizzards to rescue. And especially for the renewed pleasure of Sidney Poitier's company. - By Richard Schickel

#### Design

#### Renewal, **But a Loss** Of Funk

Will a building boom make Times Square square?

mericans' emblematic visions of their country incline toward the arcadian-cabins in a peaceable countryside, a small town with no entertainment wilder than a Sousa band in the park. But in this century, as the U.S. became an urban nation, New York City's Times Square emerged as a different sort of American apotheosis. Times Square exemplified a certain idea of the city carried to its frenetic extreme: a few blocks dense with too many lights and too much action, a happy chaos of honky-tonk night life (the Florodora girls, Legs Diamond's Hotsy Totsy Club), theatrical bliss (Barrymore's Hamlet, the Marx Brothers) and the spontaneous razzmatazz of the rialto. There was a civic side as well: Times Square became the natural New York place for jubilation en masse, every New Year's Eve and every time America won a war

Those were the good old days. Tourists and all kinds of New Yorkers still come to the boulevards and side streets, and the Broadway theater still has its headquarters in the half-mile strip north of 42nd Street. With its theaters, odd shops and even odder people. Times Square remains a singularly exciting place. But the balance between high life and low life did tip for the worse during the 1960s and '70s. Pornography merchants proliferated, and street criminals grew more brazen. Funk and festivity were too often edged out by rattiness and fear

Now, all of a sudden, the rattiness is being excised. And in the process, several other qualities seem in danger of disappearing too: the reasonable scale, the special romance and the sense of celebration. On the pretext of rescuing Times Square, much of what makes the neighborhood special is about to be denuded, the scores of small, old, higgledy-piggledy buildings replaced by a dozen shiny towers. Two weeks ago, the state gave approval to leases for four big, bulky skyscrapers designed by Philip Johnson and John Burgee, part of a \$2.6 billion plan to redevelop 42nd Street. A few blocks away, on the northern side of Times Square, demolition is nearly complete on half a dozen other high-rise sites. Says Vincent Tese, the head of New York State's Urban Devel-



American apotheosis: the former Times Tower sits at a focal point of civic jubilation, honky-tonk

opment Corporation and the man in | charge of the ambitious plan: "The dream is about to become a reality.

But which dream? Damon Runyon did not write stories about office workers. The would-be master builders of Times Square seem to be ignoring the lessons learned in scores of American cities during the past two decades, where downtown neighborhoods were ripped apart wholesale as a way to "renew" them. In almost every instance where a cluster of high-rise office towers replaces smaller commercial buildings, a kind of dead zone results. Street life becomes a daylight affair. "Look at 8 o'clock at night on Sixth Avenue," says Actress Colleen Dewhurst, an antidevelopment activist, alluding to the dreary wall of high-rise office slabs a few hundred yards east of the theater district. "You find yourself running because you're frightened. It's spooky.

At least the buildings planned for the Times Square area are eclectic. Two are glassy towers designed by late-modernist architectural stars-one a rather awkward quasi-spiral by Kevin Roche, the other a larger, more elegant tower by Charles Gwathmey. Both, although not their architects' best work, look to be at least as good as the run of new commercial buildings in Manhattan.

The most problematic part of the Times Square redevelopment plan is the Johnson-Burgee complex, which will straddle the confluence of 42nd Street, Broadway and Seventh Avenue. The planned buildings are of varying heights (29, 37, 49 and 56 stories) but otherwise identical: grand colonnades, red and pink granite, glass mansard roofs. These will be hulking structures, with more than twice the square footage of the area's current most egregious behemoth: John Portman's 50-story Marriott Marquis hotel a few blocks up Broadway

Not that they will be unredeemed corporate fortresses. Most of the ground floors will consist of shops and restaurants. Furthermore, Developer George Klein has promised to install elaborate commercial signs on the façades. On 42nd Street, Klein and his partners at the Prudential Insurance Co. have agreed to acquire most of nine architecturally precious old theaters (many now showing sex-and-mayhem movies) and spend \$9.2 million to renovate those that become nonprofit playhouses. (A new hotel and



Low life: the scene along 42nd Street



night life and the razzmatazz of the rialto

merchandise mart are also envisioned for the same stretch of 42nd Street.) Finally, Klein and company will spend \$81.8 million to spruce up the surrounding sidewalks and overhault the purgatorial Times Square subway station. "We can create the most extraordinary buildings in the city and create a sense of place there." says Johnson. "It's better to do

it all in one spot than plop, plop, plop buildings all over Times Square. I should think it will be more important than Rockefeller Center." Adds Burgee: "It's a great opportunity to make a center where there is not a center."

There is already a center, though, and it is eponymous: Times Tower, originally the newspaper's headquarters, stands on its own triangular island where the three streets come together. Built at the turn of the century, Times Tower (now One Times Square) was the odd but lovable younger sister of the classic Flatiron Building a mile down Broadwayuntil its terra-cotta exterior was ripped away in favor of a charmless white marble skin in the mid-1960s. The dowager has been turned into a cheap mummy, yet the disposition of Times Tower remains an architectural cause célèbre. Johnson and Burgee once proposed that the building be stripped down to its steel skeleton, gaily painted and lighted-a wry Piranesian folly absolutely perfect for the spot. What seems more likely, alas, is that the building will be demolished and replaced by a conventionally highfalutin plaza, monumental and mute. The great threat is that the redevelop-

ers, because they are spending so much money and seeking to attract blue-chip office tenants in a soon-to-be-glutted market, will make this motley, redolent crossroads orderly and decorous-that they will make Times Square square. New York City planners, to their credit, have during the past year made an attempt to enforce preservation of some of the area's glittery, hodgepodge character. Today Times Square has 29 "supersigns" composed of 200 miles of neon. The latest rules require that large, bright, animated versions be included on new buildings. A planned Holiday Inn on Broadway, designed by Architect Alan Lapidus, will incorporate supersigns in its structure. A whole 50-ft.-high sign could be plugged right into the façade

A good part of the ambience has derived from the presence of ancillary entertainment businesses dance rehearsal studios, costume workshops and the like. Already such hole-in-the-wall firms are picking up and leaving the neighborhood—including, as of last year, the showbusiness newspaper Variety. One wellintended recent city rule requires that any beautiful properties. The present of the proting of the present of the present of the preting of the present of the present of the forey space in the present of the preting of the present of the present of the preting of the preting of the present of the preting of the preting of the prepared of the preting of the prepared of the preting of the preting of the preting of the prepared of the preting of the preting of the preting of the preting of the prepared of the preting of the prepared of the preting of the prepared of the preting o

It is easier to codify building scale. In May the permissible height of new buildings along the major avenues will automatically be trimmed by a sixth. A building that could have risen 35 stories will be allowed only 29. More significant, the basic lew will be allowed only 29. More significant, the basic lew will stignificant have now have deep. Broadway and Seventh Avenue have deep. Box setbacks: only the first 50 to 60 ft. can be built out to the sidewalk; the rest of the structure must be set back at least 30 ft. The idea is to preserve a sense of openness, storyed and about-to-be-destroyed low-rise buildings are still there.

The only buildings in the district that

seem safe from imminent demolition are the 40-odd Broadway theaters. Most of those have now been declared landmarks under the city's haphazard historic-preservation law. Yet since only some of these structures have truly distinguished exteriors, such no-exceptions landmarking seems wishful, almost fetishistic, as if the Broadway theater will be reinvigorated by preserving its quaint shell. "You're landmarking many of the buildings that are old and obsolete," says Producer James Nederlander, a co-owner of eleven theaters who plans to restore two more on 42nd Street. A building gets old. What the hell are you going to do with it? You've got to demolish it, put something else up."

But the interiors are glorious, and as part of the Times Square mix, some sizable number of old-fashioned Broadway theaters is crucial. "They cannot be replaced today," says Paul Segal, a past president of the American Institute of Architects' New York chapter. "They are unique in terms of

their acoustics, their sight lines and their sense of intimacy. And also in their relationship to the street—how theatergoers spill out before and after the show and at intermission, and enliven the area."

Well beyond the proseeniums and box offices. Times Square is deeply theatrical. People come to any public place partly to perform, New Yorkers particularly, and in Times Square most of all. Sometimes the high-strong street life become the properties of the propert

For government planners, the great challenge of Times Square is ironic and unaccustomed: to specify the freewheeling appearance of unfettered development, to mandate a particular kind of commercial messiness, to regulate an unregulated look. John Burgee complains that "Times Square doesn't have one single visual identity." Exactly. As with circuses and carnivals, a certain incessant, amorphous teeming is the point. Times Square is supposed to buzz. It is supposed to swing -By Kurt Andersen Reported by Daniel S. Levy/New York



Tower complex: Johnson and Burgee with a model of their project

#### Video

#### **Up Too Close and Personal**

In Calgary and New Hampshire, TV hypes the human drama

44 don't know about you, but I'm kinda tired right now." ABCS Jim McKay was saying. There was a smile of dazed satiety on his face after a big night of Olympies action, highlighted by the U.S. Cechoslovskich hockey game. But gosh. Jim, it was only Monday. Still to come were two more dramatic hockey games, the skating artistry of "little Kayya mitted Kaylar and Jack in the real world, the gradge match

between Bob Dole and George Bush and the scramble among Democratic presidential hopefuls to survive New Hampshire. Talk about tired.

It was another of those weeks when TV seems to have a bear hug on the nation's attention. And another week that illustrated the video corollary of Parkinson's Law: the significance of an event expands according to the TV time allotted for it. The Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary have undoubtedly been blown out of proportion by most of the press. But the three networks' decision virtually to set up shop in those states (all three evening newscasts originated from New Hampshire on Monday and Tuesday) helped magnify every twist and nuance in the poll results. As for the

Olympics, world-class competitions in skiing and skatting take place even in years not divisible by four—and are ignored by 98% of the U.S. audience. But with blanket TV coverage for 16 days in Calgary, a tiny slip on the ice suddenly becomes the stuff of national exhibitantion or despair.

Never mind the Southern primaries; TV's own Super Tuesday came last week, as ABC's Olympics coverage vied with the unfolding story from New Hampshire. NBC and CBS each weighed in with an hourlong election special (NBC's in prime time), and CBS's 48 Hours devoted its entire hour to a behind-the-scenes look at New Hampshire campaigning. ABC locked into Olympics coverage for most of the evening, squeezed in reports from Anchorman Peter Jennings before a halfhour wrap-up at midnight Eastern standard time. ABC's last-of-the-evening program was, bravely, the first of the political season to shun the obligatory candidate interviews. A good thing: by that time. one more round of "spin control" from Gep-

hardt, Simon, Kemp, et al., might have caused mass defections to the Soviet hockev team.

TV, of course, is not just covering the presidential campaign; it is providing much of the substance for it as well. The Dan Rather-George Bush confrontation of four weeks ago has already secured a place in U.S. political folklore. Almost every week since, another TV "moment" has grabbed the spotlight. After Iowa, it

was Pat Robertson's bristling response to Tom Brokaw's characterization of him as a "former television evangelist." Last week it was Dole's ill-tempered admonition to Bush—after another Brokaw question—to "stop lying about my record."

If politicians seem unusually testy around network anchormen these days, the rhetoric on the other side is just as heated. CBS's Bob Schieffer, the early front runner for TV's gold medal in campaign hyperbole, reported after Robertson's strong showing in Iowa that "this Republican race has been blown wide open"; last week Bush came from "flat on his back" to create an "entirely new ball game." Then again, Schieffer has to talk loudly to be heard above Rather, who is overflowing with folksy metaphors ("the Granite State just might be a ticket to Tombstone") and melodramatic flourishes (the Bush-Dole fight is the "political equivalent of the Thrilla in Manila")

Building up the drama, of course, is the name of the game in TV political coverage, just as it is in sports coverage. Calgary has certainly had dramatic moments, even without ARC's help: from Dan 10.5 hockey team's courageous battle against the Soviets. Technically, ARC is doing its usual fine job, especially on the ski slopes, where well-placed cameras provide a dazding sensation of speed, the provide of the provide of the provide of the that pinneered. TV Olympics coverage is growing sloppy with age.

No, the trouble is not ABC's much discussed decision to break away from live hockey for commercials or for taped skiing highlights, thus missing some key goals. Given the time constraints, the net-

vork's choices have been defensible. Nor is it the silly features that fill the slow spots (Dr. Ruth Westheimer on the advisability of sex before skiing). One can even ignore, if not forgive, those pointless postevent interviews, which have deteriorated so badly that reporters no longer even bother to frame a question, just thrust a mike into the athlete's face. ("That was a tremendous performance. Your thoughts?")

The main problem is Abrolom is Abrolom is the "human drama" at the expense of nuts-and-bolts reporting. The network's signature "Up Close and Personal" reports, adorned this year with groovy pop songs, have proliferated like dandelions, while most of the commentators are too caught up in emotional

cheerleading to convey much decipherbable information. "The said it before and I'll say it again: the short program means exactly what it says," announces gushy Skating Analyst Dick Button, who may actually believe he is telling us sometime. And woo betide any viewer who misses part of Auc's prime-time coverage. Those late-night warp-ups, with Frank Gifford here highlights of the day's action, opting instead for another easily disposable stack of features and interviews.

Are people tuning in? For most nights last week, AIC's ratings were disappointing, falling below the network's guarantee to advertisers of 21.5% of the national audience. But viewership peaked on Tuesday for the pair's figure-skating finals, at a hefty 25.5%. Election programs on Cits and NBC, meanwhile, were among the week's lowest-ranked shows. It was not surprising, Dan, Tom and Peter are merely helping elect a President. ABC is manufacturing heroes. — By Rehard Zoglin Cattering heroes.





SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.

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